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AN INQUIRY

INTO THE

PROPER MODE OF RENDERING THE WORD GOD

IN TRANSLATING

THE SACRED SCRIPTURES

INTO THE CHINESE LANGUAGE,

—◆—
BY

W. H. Medhurst
W. H. MEDHURST, SEN. the Elder

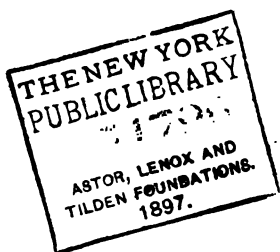
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W. H. Medhurst

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AN ENQUIRY
 INTO THE
 PROPER MODE OF RENDERING THE WORD GOD
 IN TRANSLATING
THE SACRED SCRIPTURES
 INTO THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

In discussing the proper mode of rendering a word out of one language into another, we should first ascertain, from lexicographers and standard writers, the meaning of the word which is to be translated : and then, by means of the same process, the meaning of the word or words proposed as the representative of the idea, in the language into which we are translating.

On this principle we shall,

I. Shew, from Hebrew and Greek lexicons, the meaning of Elohim and Theos, pointing out how the words were used by standard writers in these languages.

II. Shew, from Chinese dictionaries and classical writers, the meaning of the term or terms which have been proposed for translating the same.

I. Meaning of Elohim and Theos.

1. ELOHIM.

Knapp derives Eloah from the Arabic root *Alah*, to worship and venerate ; from which it is inferred, that the being or beings referred to by that name, were supposed to possess qualities and attributes which led their votaries or dependents to worship and revere them. Hence, he says, it was applied to kings, magistrates, judges, and others to whom reverence is shewn, and who are regarded as representatives of the Deity upon earth. He renders the singular form Eloah by *Augustus*, in the positive degree, and the plural Elohim by *Augustissimus*, in the superlative.

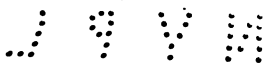
El, he says, is generally represented by Theos, and is

sometimes literally rendered in the Septuagint and in the version of Aquila by *ischuros*, the Almighty. There are twenty instances of such rendering, and among these are the following, 2. Sam. 22: 31, 32, 33. 23: 5. Neh. 1: 5. Job 33: 29. 36: 22, 26. 37: 5, 10. Ps. 7: 12. In Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, edited by Charles Taylor, Vol. I. page 484, we have the following remarks; "It (Elohim) should seem to be second in dignity only to the name Jehovah:—as that name imports the essential *being* of the Divinity, so Elohim seems to import the *power* inherent in Deity; or the *manifestation of that power* on its relative subjects." "It appears to be attributed in a lower sense to angels, &c.—Kings who have greater power than their subjects; magistrates who have greater power than those who come before them to obtain decision of their suits and application of the laws; and princes or men of rank, whether in office or not, who possess power and influence by their wealth," &c. "So Moses was the depository of power in respect of God, or the source whence *power* emanated and influenced Aaron," &c.

The Jewish grammarians, conceiving that the word Elohim is used in Scripture for men in power and authority, particularly for judges, connect this sense with the root *Alah* to swear, by observing that it is the particular office and prerogative of judges and magistrates to administer oaths. This power they make the first principle of judicature or magistracy. Hence they say Elohim signifies judges or magistrates generally, and by pre-eminence God; as the first of all judges, to whom all other judges are subordinate, and from whom they derive their authority.

In an old Hebrew vocabulary, by William Robertson, of Edinburgh, Eloah is rendered God; while some, it is said, "not without ground, interpret it to signify properly a judge (from *Alah* to swear,) because it belongs to a judge by his office to bind others by oaths; and hence the name is attributed to God, as the greatest and most glorious judge of all the world; thus Ps. 82: 1. Elohim (God) judgeth among the Elohim (gods or judges), who are called gods, i. e. judges, because they represent God upon earth, as his deputed ministers and officers among men. Hence the Rabbins say, Jehovah is a name of mercy, but Elohim one of judgment or justice; for judgment belongeth unto God, and God is the judge."

Dr. Pye Smith, in his Testimony to the Messiah, Vol. 1. page 468, says in a note: "Elohim is derived from the Arabic *Alaha*, which signifies, to adore; hence the noun will signify the object of adoration, or, as the illustrious Schultens well expresses it, *numen tremendum*."



Gesenius supposes the radical meaning to be, to strike with awe.

It is especially worthy of notice, that neither Elohim nor El is ever employed for the human spirit, for spirits in general, or for the manes of the dead.

2. THEOS.

In the Greek-English Lexicon, based on the German work of Francis Passow, by Liddell and Scott, Oxford, 1845, we find the following meanings given to Theos. 1. God, as well in general signification, God (Theos) will grant. Hom. Od. 14, 144, cf. Iliad. 13 : 730; as, 2, in particular, *Theos tis*, a god &c. The word occurs in most of the kindred languages; Sanscrit, *Deva*. Lat. *Deus*. *Divus* &c. and is no doubt originally the same as Zeus, Dios; so that we cannot admit the Greek derivation given by Herodotus 2, 52, or that of Plato.

With regard to Theos, in the sense of the Supreme God, the following passages may be quoted. Iliad R. 98, 99, "God himself (*Theos autos*).... will make me a blooming youth." Herodotus Lib. 7. 10. "God (Theos) delights to throw obstacles in the way of whatever is most exalted.... For God (Theos) suffers none but himself to excel in wisdom." Philolaus, a Pythagorean, cited by Philo, in *De Mundi Opificio*, says: "As the artificer is to art, so is God (Theos) to the harmony of the world." An anonymous Pythagorean, cited by Stobæus says; "God (Theos) is the principal and the first thing." Timæus Locrus, a Pythagorean, senior to Plato, says; "Before the Heaven was made there existed the idea, matter, and God (Theos) the architect of the best." Plato often speaks of the Deity in the singular (Theos with the article) as the architect of the world, the God over all, and the governor of the whole. Aristotle says; "God (Theos) seems to be a cause and certain principle to all things;" and "God (Theos) who is invisible to every mortal being, is seen by his works." *De Mundo*. C. 6.

Liddell and Scott add as a further meaning to Theos; "It was used in styling emperors, kings, judges, heroes, grandees, magistrates, as *ho Theos Kaisar*. Strabo."

In regard to its use in the New Testament the following commentators and lexicographers thus express themselves.

Bloomfield says that Theos means generally, *a*. God, the Supreme Lord and Father of all, Jehovah. *b*. Christ, the Logos. *c*. kings as the representatives of God in the Jewish theocracy, and *d*. in the Greek sense of a God, the Deity, the Gods, i. e. the heathen Gods. With regard to its derivation, he thinks it is most probably of the same family with Zeus, Dios. Eol. *Deus*, Latin. *Deus*."

Stockius says, "*Theos* means especially and properly the true God, who is the first and independent existence, the cause and source of all other existences; the Lord and Supreme Governor of the universe." He says further, that it is improperly applied by metaphor to magistrates, to Satan and the belly : and catachrestically, to idols.

Schleusner says, that *Theos* means, 1. properly the Creator and Governor of all things that exist : 2. by metonymy, the religion given by God to men : 3. any thing that is put in the place of God, such as idols or the devil, when considered as the god of this world : 4, metaphorically, it is used of those who act under the command or authority of God, and are God's vicegerents on earth, such as magistrates and judges : 5. it is used adjectively.

In all these definitions we see the close connection that is regarded as existing between the idea of deity and that of authority, a connection the closeness of which is also indicated in the Apostle Paul's expression, "His eternal power and godhead." Nor is this connection confined to the Hebrew and Greek terms for God. In Latin the principal idea conveyed by the word *D-us* is authority, as is proved by the constant recurrence in the Latin classics of such phrases as "*Dei, Domini ac Moderatores omnium rerum;*" "*Providentia Deorum mundus administratur;*" &c. Our own word God is said to be derived from the Icelandic word *Godi*, signifying supreme or chief magistrate. The ancient Arabs (says Schulz) called God simply the King (Bloomfield's Greek Testament, Matt. 5: 35.) The inference from all this is, that authority is inherent in the idea of God, and is in fact the chief element in the term. That there are other elements in it is at once admitted, but it would be more easy to add these to any word employed to represent Divinity, than to add the idea of authority to one in which that idea was not naturally inherent. Hence it is no objection to a word which is proposed to be used for God, that *power* is its principal idea. The other attributes usually predicated of Divinity flow easily and naturally from that of power but they want a foundation to rest upon, when power is wanting or not necessarily present.

II. Having discussed the meanings of *Elohim* and *Theos*, as those words were understood by both Hebrew and Greek writers, to indicate the Supreme as well as inferior deities, we now come to consider what term in Chinese is most nearly equivalent to them. And here it may be premised, that after most studious research, we have not been able to find any one term that fully answers to the words, as employed in the Old and New Testaments.

In one important particular the Chinese ideas respecting

God fall short of the truth ; for they do not appear to ascribe the creation of heaven and earth to any one being. The Supreme in their estimation is variously designated 天 T'hên, 帝 Te, or 上帝 Shang Te. * To this Being they attribute the production and superintendence of 萬物 wan wü, all things. We do not find that the Chinese predicate of him self-existence ; nor do we remember any place in which they expressly describe him as existing from eternity. At the same time, however, we no where meet with a single passage which speaks of the origin of Te, nor of his deriving his existence from any other. On the other hand, all things are said to come from him, as children spring from their parents. The meaning of words is to be ascertained from the sense in which they are used by standard writers and accurate speakers ; and the nature of a being is to be deduced from the assemblage of attributes which, by such writers and speakers, are ascribed to him. There can be no doubt that the Chinese use the word Te in the same way in which western writers use the word God ; that they ascribe to Te such attributes as were usually ascribed to the Divine Being by the Pagans of Greece and Rome. We therefore conclude that by Te the Chinese mean the Supreme God, so far as they are acquainted with him. †

They also use the word Te when speaking of inferior spiritual beings, who have some superintendence over different parts

* The terms 上帝 Shang Te and 天帝 T'hên. Te are used by the Chinese interchangeably with 帝 Te, both for the Supreme and inferior divinities ; we shall therefore, in adducing our proofs from Chinese authors, consider them as, in the estimation of the Chinese, synonymous.

† That something of God is ascertainable by Pagans, may be argued from the statement of the Apostle Paul, in Rom. 1. 20 : —“The invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and godhead.” Stuart says on this passage. “If godhead be interpreted here as a word designating the sum of all the divine attributes, we must regard natural theology as equally extensive with that which is revealed, so far as the great doctrines respecting the godhead are concerned. Did the Apostle mean to assert this ? I trust not. I must understand godhead then as designating divinity, divine nature, divine excellence or supremacy : i. e. such a station and condition, and nature, as make the being who holds or possesses them to be truly divine or God. Eternal power and supremacy or exaltation, then, appear to be those qualities or attributes of the Divine Being, which the works of creation are said by the Apostle to disclose. On this deeply interesting subject Aristotle says, (De Mundo, C. 6.) God, who is invisible to every mortal being, is seen by his works.”

used. Kang-he further tells us, that the five Tes are the names of Shins, or spiritual beings. Here he uses the word name, which does not mean a title of dignity, but that by which a thing is called. Morrison translates this term, "the Five Tes" by the "God of Heaven and the gods of the four seasons." These five Tes are not the Supreme in the estimation of the Chinese because there cannot be five Supremes; neither are they men, because they are said to be spiritual beings;—they must therefore be a class of beings between the Supreme God and living men, honoured with the worship of their votaries: we have already seen from Kang-he that Te is one of the names of Heaven; in this place we find that the Five Tes are the names of certain spiritual beings distinct from the Supreme, * hence we conclude that Te is not the name of one being only, but the appellation of a class of beings honoured with religious worship by the Chinese. To the same effect the author of the Encyclopædia Britannica says: "God is one of the names of the Supreme Being; it is also used in speaking of the false deities of the heathen, to whom divine honours are superstitiously paid." That the five Tes are beings will appear from their being sacrificed to at the borders of the country, from their being distinguished by the five colours, and from their being severally designated by particular names;—all indicative of distinct and separate existence. Kang-he then quotes a sentence from the Family Sayings of Confucius, wherein, to a question respecting the names of the five Tes, Confucius replies: "Heaven, or the Divinity, possessing the

* Townsend, in his notes on the New Testament, Ch. 3. sec. 7, says, "the heathen had an idea of beings superior to men, but inferior to the one Supreme God. Cudworth enumerates many instances; among others he quotes Plato's expression that there were visible and generated gods; and Maximus Tyrius, who spoke of their being co-rulers with God. The Jewish and Christian ideas of angels and spirits are in some respects similar. Both believe that these inferior beings may possess some influence, by permission of the Deity, in the concerns of mankind; and the opinion is neither hostile to reason nor scripture."

Sale, in his preliminary discourse to the Koran, says: "The religion of the Arabs, before Mohammed, was a sort of Sabeanism. They not only believed in one God, but produced many strong arguments for his unity; though they also paid adoration to the stars, or angels or intelligences, which they supposed to reside in them, and govern the world under the Supreme Deity. Thus the Arabs acknowledged one Supreme God, the Creator and Lord of the Universe, whom they called Allah Taala, the Most high God, and their other Deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply El Ilahiet. These idols they supposed not to be *sui juris*, though they offered sacrifices and other offerings to them as well as to God."

five elements, viz. metal, wood, water, fire, and earth, divided them among the seasons, transforming and nourishing in order to complete the myriad of things; their Shins, or spirits, are called the five Tes." On referring to the commentary on the Family Sayings, we find, that "the five Tes are the Shins or spirits of the five elements, who *assist* Heaven in producing things."*

* As it is of importance to have a right understanding of the words employed by Kang-he under this article, and as the best way of arriving at the meaning of an author, is to take his own explanation of terms, we shall here subjoin the significations given to the words

名 ming and 德 tih in the Imperial Dictionary.

名 Ming, says the Imperial Lexicographer, is that whereby we designate ourselves: it comes from 口 k'how, the mouth, and 夕 selh, the evening; because in the darkness of evening people do not see each other, and therefore they call out their own names. It also means the 號 haou, cognomen or appellation, (which is given to a person when arrived at maturity,) and thus signifies the 名字 ming teze, the name and appellation. The Lexicographer then says, that the name is sometimes complete of itself, or natural; in illustration of which a passage is quoted from the 左傳 Tso chuen, as follows, "In the 6th year of the Duke Hwan, and in the 9th month, a son named 同 Tung was born: the Duke asked about his name from Shin-joo; who replied, In giving names there are five reasons: 1st, 信 sin, one true to nature, (when an individual is born with some character described by the lines on the palms of his hands): 2ndly, 義 e, a significant one, (when a name is given with allusion to the future conduct of the individual): 3dly, 象 sëang, a name of resemblance, (when a person is born with some part of his body resembling a certain object): 4thly, 假 këa, a metaphorical name, (when an individual is named from some circumstance occurring at the time): and 5thly, 類 luy, a name of classification, (when a name is given indicative of the person's having been born in the same class with some others.)"

Again, Kang-he says, 名 ming is that whereby we call others; quoting the 曲禮 Keü le, as follows: The prince of a country does not call by name his chief nobles, nor their consorts.

Further Kang-he says, that 名 ming means fame, and famous; and is used in the sense of great or celebrated.

The Imperial Lexicographer proceeds to say, that 名 ming and 號 haou are used for name and surname; quoting the 儀禮 E le, which says, "I beg to ask your name?"—upon which the commentator remarks, Asking after the name means to ask after the surname:

The Dictionary called **諧聲字典** Heae Shing Tsze Téen, says, that "Te means the Lord and Governor of Heaven;

for names, he adds, are of two kinds; first, the proper name or appellation of a person, and secondly, the surname of the individual.

孔安國 K'hung gnan kwō, in commenting on the Shoo-king, considered Shún as the name of the individual referred to; and Chin, in his list of worthies, considered **曾子** Tsäng-tsze to be the name and surname of that person, in which he took **子** tsze to be his name; in both these instances they took the **名** ming, for the surname of the party. In the present day, when people take the name for the surname, it is to be ascribed to this. An extract is then given from the **周語** Chow yu, which says, that "when those (who live in distant tenures) do not send in the accustomed tribute, then look to the **名** ming, name;" upon which the Commentator says, that ming here means the appellation of the official tribute according to the honour or meanness (of him who receives it.)

Kang-he then says, that **名** ming means an order issued by a superior; also a character in writing; merit; clear; the part between the eyes; and further observes, that it is used for a surname.

Thus we find that the first sense of **名** ming, is the name of an individual, that by which he styles himself, or the appellation given to him when he comes of age. It is used sometimes for the surname, and is employed instead of the personal pronoun, when speaking to a superior. Thus it is not in itself a title of official dignity, in order to express which idea the word **官** kwan must be prefixed, when it would mean the name of an office.

Another way of ascertaining the meaning of a word is, to observe how a person uses it; and on looking through Kang-he we find scarcely any other noun so frequently used as this; it occurs in almost every page, and sometimes more than a dozen times in one page of his book; in all of which cases it means a name: thus the name of a man, the name of a bird, the name of a beast, the name of a stone, the name of a city, the name of an insect, and so forth; where it is evident that the Lexicographer uses the word in the plain sense of name, that by which a thing is called, &c. The phrase — **名** yih ming also occurs very frequently, in the sense of one of the names of a thing.

As the word **號** haou has been used by the Lexicographer, in order to explain **名** ming, it would be well to ascertain what meaning Kang-he gives to that term likewise: it occurs, he says, first as a verb, to call out aloud, to cry, to crow as a cock; and then as a substantive in the sense of **名號** ming haou, name and appellation: under which head he quotes a sentence, which affirms, that in the time detailed in the Chun-tsew history, noble and mean persons did not object to be called by the same haou, appellation; in which case

but because emperors are appointed by Heaven to regulate matters, they are also honoured as Tes." Thus it would

haou cannot mean the title of an office, about which the noble would have been likely to dispute the point with the mean. Again he quotes from the 白虎通 pih-hoo-t'hung, which says, that when kings receive the decree to reign, they always select one of the most elegant appellations they can find, whereby to designate themselves. According to the Chow-le the proclaiming officer had to attend to the six kinds of 號 haou, appellations, which were the appellations, 1st, of the spirits of heaven; 2dly, manes of men; 3dly, spirits of earth; 4thly, sacrificial animals; 5thly, sacrificial grains; and 6thly, presents of ceremony: regarding which we may observe, that as the three last cannot refer to titles of dignity, but simply to the names of the things, so the three former referred to are names of things likewise; on this subject the Commentator says, that haou means that having already assigned them an honourable name, they still attached to these objects more elegant appellations. The Hea kwan says, that families were distinguished by their haou, mark or designation. From all which we see that haou, as well as ming, is a name, mark, or appellation of a person or thing, and not a title of office.

Regarding the word 德 tih, which we have translated virtue, we have the following definitions in Kang-he, "德行 tih hing, virtuous actions, which one says, is hitting the right mark in the conduct of an individual. Wherever this word is employed, it is an appellation of that which is good, beautiful, correct, great, bright, clear, pure, and morally good. The superior man is said to advance in virtue, and to cultivate good attainments. The invariable principle which men should maintain is this morally excellent virtue. The nine kinds of virtue are thus defined: liberal and yet stern, yielding and yet firm, particular and yet respectful, regular and yet reverential, benignant and yet intrepid, straight-forward and yet meek, negligent and yet pure, stable and yet sincere, courageous and yet upright. There are also three kinds of virtue, viz. even-handed justice, strict rule, and a mild course of government. The six kinds of virtue, are knowledge, benevolence, holiness, righteousness, hitting the due medium, and harmony. Tih or virtue means kindness, and good instruction: also gratitude. It likewise means the flourishing of the four seasons. According to the laws for giving posthumous titles, the monarch who is mild and kind towards scholars and people, who on being reprov'd does not display his terrible majesty, and who maintains righteousness and displays goodness, is denominated virtuous. Further, Tih means to arise, to be happy, &c. In all which we see that the prevailing idea attached to the word is like the modern sense of our term virtue, a good one, indicative of good qualities, and internal excellence. That it sometimes means quality simply, without reference to goodness, and is occasionally to be understood in the sense of energy, we grant, but no such idea is to be extracted from the Imperial Lexicographer when treating of the

appear from this Dictionary, as well as from the Imperial Lexicographer, that Te was originally one of the names of Heaven, or of its ruler, and that it was applied to human rulers, on account of their being the vicegerents of Heaven.

We shall now commence with what is said of Te, in the sense of the Supreme God, as far as the Chinese knew him, and shall shew that to him are ascribed the formation and production of all things, as well as the conferring of a virtuous nature on mankind: that Te is synonymous with heaven, and at the same time the Lord of heaven: that the divine decrees are established by Te; that superintending providence and various divine acts and attributes are ascribed to him, and that the highest worship is paid to him.

I. To Te are ascribed the production and formation of all things.

In the Book of Diagrams, section 4, chap. 5, we read that "Te causes things to issue forth in the commencement of spring": this Te is said by the commentator to be the Lord and Governor of heaven; while the paraphrast on the same passage says, that "Heaven, in producing and governing all things, 謂之 wei che, is called (not receives the title of) Te; that in spring Te issues forth, and causes the energies of nature's mechanism to bud and move. In this way nature's operations proceed, from the first bursting forth to the equable adjustment, in which we see Te animating the issuings of nature's springs, and encouraging their re-vertings, and thus completing the series; for all things issue forth and revert according to the will of Te. The mysterious movements of Te are unlimited by space, while the transformation and production of things have a regular series; therefore the issuings forth and re-vertings of things illustrate the issuings forth and re-vertings of Te. Thus when we see things issuing forth, we recognize the goings forth of Te; when we see them equably adjusted, we recognize the adjustments of Te. When we observe things mutually exhibited, we recognize the displays of Te. The earth's being able to nourish living things is entirely owing to the superintendence of the one Te. The harvest's being able to delight living things is owing to the management of the same Te; even the contendings of nature are caused by Te, and the re-vertings of things by the same. Thus when we see living things effecting their commencement or completing their termination, we recognize Te's managing that beginning and end." In all

word, and certainly not in the passage where the meaning of Te is discussed, for there mental and moral qualities of an excellent kind are alone referred to.

the above quotations, which are collected from the commentators on the Book of Diagrams, Te is brought before us, not merely in the capacity of a ruler, but of the producer of things ; nature's operations from beginning to end are the results of his powerful working : in what sense then are we to understand the Chinese writer as employing the term, but as meaning God, the author of nature ?

In the Book of Odes, under the section called 我將 Gnd-tseang, a writer observes, " All things get their forms completed from Te, and men get their forms completed from their parents," intimating that Te is the parent of the myriad of things.

In the Le-ke, vol. 5. page 32, the commentator says, that "parents are those from whom we individually sprang, and Te is the great ancestor who produced things in general."

In the Le-ke, 3rd vol. 70th page, "a great eucharistical sacrifice is said to be offered to Te, in order to testify gratitude for the earing of the corn, because all things come originally from heaven." In the same work, vol. 5, page 34, all things are said to come originally from heaven, and man originates with his first progenitor ; hence in offering sacrifices the ancestor is coupled with Shang-te, called by Morrison, in his Dictionary part 1. vol. 1. page 523, "the most high ruler."

In a collection of essays, ascribed to Shun-che, the first emperor of the present dynasty, "the moulding and framing of all things, after the manner of a potter, is ascribed to the power of Te."

In the Shoo-king, 3rd book, 3rd section, we read that "the majestic Shang-te conferred the just medium of perfect virtue on the lower people ;" on which the paraphrast remarks, that, "The august Shang-te, in transforming and producing the myriad of things, conferred this great principle of the just medium and perfect correctness on the lower people, every where causing them to hit the due medium, without the least atom of depravity or defectiveness." This passage is worthy of observation, because it ascribes the original production of things to Te, and makes him the author of that correct moral nature, which the Chinese suppose was originally conferred on mankind. One of the commentators argues, that this fact involves the idea of a lord and governor, and seeing that the way of providence is to bless the good and curse the bad, he thinks that there must be a person inside, who as it were regulates and manages the whole ; we may here observe, that the Chinese lay more stress on this conferring of a virtuous nature, than on the formation and production of all things, because in their estimation the former

has reference to the immaterial rule of right, and the latter only to the material principle.

The Taoists, in arguing about the perpetual existence of Taou. eternal reason, ask, "Can it be that it is prior to Te? but Te, they say, is the first of all: and if eternal reason be prior to Te, it would perhaps indicate that there can be nothing prior to it." Here it is evident, that the prior existence of Te to all other beings, is laid down as an axiom, not to be disputed: while it is allowed that if eternal reason existed before Te, it can then have nothing before it.

In all that has been above stated with regard to Te, it is evident that he is a being, because he acts, he produces, he transforms, he commences, he completes the operations of nature, and he confers the just medium on mankind; there must be a person (as the Chinese themselves observe) who performs these acts, and brings about these effects. If it be said, that the word Te is employed in the preceding quotations simply to designate his office as a ruler, we ask, what connection has producing and transforming with rule? If it be said that he exists as a Shin or spiritual being; we ask, is it merely as a spiritual being that he performs these operations? A spirit, with the Chinese, as with us, is an incorporeal being or intelligence; in which sense God is said to be a spirit, as are angels, and the souls of men. But when a person who is a spiritual being is said to perform any thing, which one class of spirits can do, and which another class of spirits cannot do, we are not to argue that it is in his capacity of a spirit that he thus acts, but in some other capacity, which the word spirit does not entirely cover. If it could be shown that the Chinese predicate of Shin, the same things which are here predicated of Te, it might then be said that Te is to be viewed in his capacity of a Shin or spiritual being, when he performs what is here related. But it cannot be shewn, in any standard Chinese work, that "the moulding of all things, after the manner of the potter, depends on the power of Shin," or that, "Heaven in producing and governing all things is called Shin;" or that "all things get their forms completed from Shin, as men get their forms completed from their parents;" or that "Shin in producing and transforming all things conferred the just medium on mankind;" we therefore conclude, that it is not in the sense of his being a spirit that Te is here said to do all these things, and that the nature and manner of his existence must be accounted for on other grounds than those of his being a Shin. He exists in fact as Te, or in Chinese phraseology as T'hëen, for there is no other term in Chinese, expressive of a being, capable of performing the acts and attributes

here ascribed to Te. In the passage from the Yih-king, Book of Diagrams, referred to among our quotations, where Te is said to cause things to issue forth in the commencement of spring, Shin is spoken of in the sense of the mysterious operations or the spiritual energies of nature ; but Shin is there viewed in the abstract, and as belonging to Te: the passage runs thus: "The 神 Shin, spiritual energy, here refers to 帝 Te; for 帝 Te is the 體 t'he, substance or origin of the 神 Shin, spiritual energy, and the 神 Shin, spiritual energy, is the 用 yung, acting out of 帝 Te; therefore he who rules and governs all things is 帝 Te, and that which is the most mysterious of all things is 帝之神 Te che shin, the spiritual energy of Te." Some would understand by 神 Shin here, "God" and would render "神即帝 shin tseih te, God is the ruler," but that such cannot be the meaning is evident, because in the same sentence the author says, that this same 神 Shin, is the 用 yung, acting out of 帝 Te, and that this mysterious acting belongs to Te; supposing the Chinese writer to mean by the first Shin "God," he must be understood to say in the sequel that this God was used by Te, and belonged to Te. It is evident, therefore, that the Chinese writer intended to describe the 神 shin, spiritual energy of nature, treated of in the text (on which he is commenting) by saying, that it referred to, or was used elliptically for Te, whose spiritual energy it was, and who employed it in effecting the changes observable in nature. This will appear from his calling 帝 Te, the 體 t'he, substance or origin of the 神 shin, spiritual energy, and the spiritual energy the 用 yung, acting out of Te. Regarding these terms 體 t'he, and 用 yung, it will be necessary to quote a few passages from the Chinese classics, in order to shew their relative bearing.

In the preface to the 大學 Tá-hěö, these words are spoken of in connection with the human mind, where the former refers to its nature or essence, and the latter to its passions or emotions. In the 中庸 Chung-yung, page 2, the commentator says, that the 體 t'he is at rest, and the 用 yung in action, while he declares that the former must first be established, before the latter can come into operation. Ib. page 22, the commentator says, that "benevolence is the maintaining of the 體 t'he, substance (of virtue), and wisdom the 用 yung, acting out of the same. In the 論語 Lún yù,

section 1. page 6. speaking of the ease essential to the due performance of ceremonies, the commentator says, that "although the 體 t'he, essence (of ceremony) consists in adherence to forms, in its 用 yung, use or acting out, it should be easy and unconstrained." Ib. p. 9. the commentator says, that "the mind is the 體 t'he, substance, and desire is the 用 yung, acting out of the same." In the 2d section, page 13, the writer says, that "to be perfectly sincere is the 體 t'he, essence of right principles, and to make every duty fall in its proper place is the 用 yung, acting out of the same." Ib. p. 14. we read that "fidelity is the 體 t'he, substance of virtue, and fellow-feeling its 用 yung, acting out;" upon which the critic remarks, that "fidelity is displayed by means of fellow-feeling, and fellow-feeling proceeds from fidelity; it is just the one virtue of fidelity 做出 tsó ch'hüh, acting out hundreds of instances of fellow-feeling: thus fidelity is the 體 t'he, origin of fellow-feeling, which, although variously ramified, comes from one principle; and fellow-feeling is the 用 yung, result of fidelity, which though but one principle, is diversified through various ramifications. Fidelity is the 實 shih, real thing, and fellow-feeling is its coming forth into action." Apply this passage to the elucidation of the one quoted from the Yih-king, and it will easily be seen in what relation Te and Shin stand to each other. In 孟子 Máng-tsà, section 6, page 8, the paraphrast says, "Right principles constitute the 體 t'he, substance of the mind, and right practice its 用 yung, use." Ib. section 7, page 10, the commentator says, "Light is the 體 t'he, substance of the rays, and the rays are the 用 yung, issuings forth of the light; when we see the rays of the sun or moon penetrating a crevice, we know that light has an origin;" upon which the paraphrast remarks, "when you observe that the rays of the sun or moon, on penetrating the smallest crevice illumine the whole room, then you may know that they come forth from a real light, which is ceaseless in its emanations, and hence you may argue that it has a root or origin." The critic on the same passage remarks, "the rays on being allowed admission, necessarily illumining the whole space, shew the greatness of the sun and moon, whose light is their origin. Thus the sage's doctrine, having one principle pervading the whole, shews that its 本體 pùn t'he, original substance is in heaven, which may be called its light; while

its illuminations extending to earth may be called its rays. Thus referring to one item (of the sage's doctrine) you see the whole **體** t'he, substance, and the root or origin is seen from its **用** yung, use or exhibition." From the above it is evident, that the **體** t'he, is the root or origin, the main source or spring of anything, without which it could not exist; while the **用** yung is only the emanation, or something that issues forth from the original substance. In Mǎng-tszè, sect. 6, page 8, the paraphrast says, that "right principle is the heart's **體** t'he, substance, and just action is the heart's **用** yung, operation." In the first paragraph of the Shoo-king, the commentator says, that "respect is the **體** t'he, substance, and intelligence the **用** yung, use;" upon which another writer remarks, that "respect is the **本** pùn ling, the origin or principal thing." In the Shoo-king, book 3, sect. 14. the commentator says, that "for virtue to accumulate in one's own person is the **體之立** t'he che leih, establishment of the essential thing, and to instruct others is **用之行** yung che hìng, its carrying out into use: when a person unites the **體用** t'he yung, essence and operation, the doctrine of the sages may be perfected." In the **繫辭** hé sze, Connected Expressions, attached to the Book of Diagrams, sect. 7. the commentator says, that "right principles are the **體** t'he, substance of right conduct, and right conduct the **用** yung, acting out of right principles." In the works of Choo-foo-tszè, section 49, page 53, we read that "the **體** t'he, substance or essential thing must first be established, and then the **用** yung, acting out thereof may come into operation." Ib. page 9. one asked "how it was, that in explaining the Great Extreme, that which moved was considered first, and that which was still came afterwards; which was to make the **用** yung, acting out, to be prior to the **體** t'he, substance of things?" to which the philosopher replied, that "speaking with regard to the Yin and Yang, then the **用** yung, acting out, is to be ascribed to the Yang. and the **體** t'he, essence or substance, to the Yin; but their motions and restings never had any beginning, and thus we cannot speak of their being severally first or last: but if we were to speak of the very first entrance on being, then rest must have existed before motion, and the **體** t'he, substance of

things before their operation: so also the Yin before the Yang." Ib. p. 10. "From the Great Extremes up to the production of all things, there was nothing but one principle of right or order, embracing the whole; it was not that this first existed, and then that; but altogether there was one great origin; from the 體 t'he, substance, things went on to be displayed in their acting out, and from the recondite they proceeded to the manifest." Ib. p. 11. "Motion is not the Great Extreme, but the moving is the 用 yung, acting out of the Great Extreme: rest is not the Great Extreme, but the resting is the 體 t'he, substance or essence of the Great Extreme."

Having gone through the above extracts, let us now take the passage from the Commentary on the Yih-king first referred to, and endeavour to ascertain the meaning of these two words, 體 t'he and 用 yung, occurring therein: the writer says that "帝 Te is the 體 t'he, substance, or origin of the 神 shin, spiritual energy, and that the 神 shin, spiritual energy is the acting out of 帝 Te; therefore he who rules and governs all things is 帝 Te, and that which is the most mysterious of all things is the 帝之神 Te che shin, spiritual energy of Te." Here it is evident that 帝 Te is the essence, substance, root or origin of 神 shin, and that 神 shin is the operation, acting out, and use of 帝 Te; because 體 t'he, is the real thing, which must first be established, and then the 用 yung, acting out may come into operation. The primary existence, and essential importance of the one, and the derived and secondary character of the other, could not be more strongly marked. Morrison, speaking of the words 體 t'he, and 用 yung, says, that "the first denotes possessing capacity, and the latter exercising it:" if so, then Te is the person possessing the capacity, and Shin is merely the acting out or exercise of it. Te is therefore a being, and in the estimation of the Chinese the highest and greatest of beings; all things are said to proceed from him, and to be completed in him: while Shin, in the same connection, is described as a quality of Te, as belonging to him, and proceeding from him. That Shin is in other places to be regarded as a concrete, we do not deny, but it is evident that the concrete must be of the same character as the abstract; and if (as will appear from the above) Shin in the abstract means spiritual energy, then Shin in the concrete must be a spiritual being; thus Te may be said to be a spiritual being,

at the same time that he possesses a spiritual energy, in the same way that God is said to be a spirit, and yet to have a spirit; but when the peculiar acts of God are spoken of, or the being is enquired after who performs such acts, we do not say that it is as a spirit that he performs those acts, nor that it is as a spirit that he exists while performing them; but in both cases we conceive that something higher is referred to, viz. God.

II. *Te* or *Shang-te* is said to be synonymous with 天 *T'héen*, Heaven.

The Chinese speak of Heaven as the "one great one," the fountain of being and the foundation of authority, producing, decreeing, bestowing, and directing all things. We will here quote a few passages in proof of this. *Kang-he* says, that "天 *T'héen*, Heaven means the apex, or topmost point, and that the being thus designated is the most high, who dwells above;" he says also "that the character 天 *t'héen*, being formed from two others meaning severally 一 *yíh*, one, and 大 *tá*, great, represents the one great one, he that dwells on high, and regulates all below, being the summit of all things." In the 四書典林 *Szè shoo t'een lin*, Heaven is called the 大鈞 *tá keun*, great framer; and is said 造物猶陶之 遺瓦 *tsaóu wü h yew taou che tsaóu wà*, to make things as the potter forms an earthen vessel. In the commentary on the 我將 *Gnò-tséang* section of the Book of Odes, it is said, that "萬物 *wán wü h*, all things 本乎天 *pùn hoo t'héen*, come originally from Heaven, and men come originally from their ancestors." In the *Yíh-king*, Heaven is said to be the ancestor of all things. Heaven is called 高高在上 *kaou kaou tsáé sháng*, the highest that is above. The Chinese also speak of 天命 *t'héen míng*, the decree of Heaven, 天意 *t'héen é*, the will of Heaven, 天性 *t'héen síng*, the virtuous nature conferred by Heaven, 天道 *t'héen taóu*, the ways of Heaven, 天步 *t'héen póó*, the steps of Heaven, or Providence; they say, 惟天爲大 *wei t'héen wei tá*, only Heaven is great; he who offends against Heaven has no other being to whom he can offer supplications; those who comply with Heaven are preserved, while those who oppose Heaven perish; Heaven sends down calamity; riches and poverty rest with Heaven; whether men are born to honour or disgrace all rests with Heaven; Heaven produced all things for the nourishment of mankind; when Heaven

created mankind, it constituted princes and teachers, and directed them to assist the most High Ruler, in shewing loving-kindness to every region. "The glorious Heaven is called bright (or clearly discerning), it accompanies you wherever you go; the glorious Heaven is called luminous, it goes wherever you roam." (Morrison.) "Heaven surveys minutely mankind." "All stand in awe of Heaven's anger." "the way of Heaven is to send blessings on the good and calamities on the vicious." In the Shoo-king, Book 3. sect. 2, we read that "Heaven has formed mankind with various passions, and also produced intelligent persons to regulate them." The opening sentence of the Chung-yung is "The decree of Heaven may be called nature;" upon which the Commentator remarks, "Heaven employed the 陰陽 yin yâng, superior and inferior principles of nature, together with the five elements, to transform and produce all things; the primordial substance was used to constitute their form, and the principle of order was attached to them, as it were by the command (of Heaven.)" Upon this comment, a writer remarks, "that Heaven, in bringing the human race into existence, acted as the Court commanding the officers of Government: it is just as if Heaven had 吩咐 fun foo, ordered the thing." The disciples of the sage, speaking of Confucius, said, "Heaven is about to use our master, as an alarm to the age;" while Confucius himself, when surrounded by the people of Kwang, said, "Unless it is Heaven's design that virtue's cause should perish, what can the people of Kwang do to me?" "He who knows me is Heaven." Morrison, in his Dictionary, Part 1. Vol. 1. page 705, says, that Heaven must be considered as the unknown God of Confucius, and in page 675, he translates 天者 t'hiên chày, "O God!" Many other passages and phrases of the same import might be quoted, but this is the less necessary, because it is admitted on all hands that 天 T'hiên, Heaven, conveys to the Chinese mind the impression of the Supreme Power, or the Supreme Being, as far as they were acquainted with him. In this application of the word Heaven to the Supreme, the Chinese are not singular. It is used in the Sacred Scriptures by metonymy for the Divinity; thus in Dan. 4: 26. "Thy kingdom shall be sure unto thee, after thou shalt have known that the Heavens do rule," compared with the preceding verse "the most High ruleth in the kingdom of men." See also verse 17. and 5: 21. from which it will appear that the rule here spoken of is absolute and not delegated authority, and that by the Heavens are intended the most High God.

In 2 Chron. 32: 20. Hezekiah is said to have prayed and cried to Heaven, while in the corresponding passages, 2 Kings 19: 15. and Isaiah 37: 15. he is said to have prayed unto the Lord. Thus, also in the New Testament, Heaven is several times used for God: as in Luke 15: 18. "I have sinned against Heaven and before thee." Luke 20: 4. "The baptism of John, was it from Heaven, or of men?" (See also Matt. 21: 25. and Mark 11: 30, 31.) John 3: 27. "A man can receive nothing except it be given him 'from Heaven." Matt. 4: 17. "The kingdom of Heaven is at hand," is rendered in the parallel passage of Mark 1: 15. "The kingdom of God is at hand." So Matt. 19: 14. "Of such is the kingdom of Heaven," is in the parallel passage Mark 10: 14. "Of such is the kingdom of God." And in Matt. 19: 23. "the kingdom of Heaven," is in the next verse called the "kingdom of God." From a review of the above, Campbell has been led to consider *Ouranos* as used in the sense of God, and as synonymous with *Theos*. To the above, add the following passages from 1 Maccab. 3: 18. (Alexand.) "with Heaven it is all one to deliver with a great multitude, or with a small company." 19. "Strength cometh from Heaven." 40. "as the will is in Heaven, so let him do." The Septuagint translators have rendered El (God) by *Ouranos*, in Isaiah 14: 13. shewing that they considered the one term as in some sense equivalent to the other. Buxtorf says, that among the Rabbinical and Talmudical writers the heavens are everywhere used for God: hence the expression, "from Heaven or of men, i. e. from God or of men." The phrase "dicare cælo" is used by Pliny in the sense of dedicating to the Gods, and *commercia cæli* occurs in Ovid, in the sense of *commercia deorum*. The word *divum* is used by Virgil for the open air, the sky, and *sub divo*. for under heaven in the open air. The Jews, who were found at K'hae-fung-foo, by the Roman Catholic Missionaries, are said never to have pronounced the ineff.ble name of Jehovah, but to have said Etunoi instead; which, in writing Chinese, they expressed by 天 T'héen, Heaven, after the manner of the Chinese. Gozani referred to this, in the controversy as to whether the Chinese adore the material heavens or the person who is their ruler, when they made use of this word. The Jesuits contending, that if Jews could conscientiously employ the word Heaven to denote God, that sufficiently indicates the sense in which the Gentile Chinese understood the term. In some inscriptions in the Jewish synagogues at K'hae-fung-foo, in Chinese, 天 T'héen is used for God. In modern language, as in the phrase "Heaven defend," and "Heaven pro-

tect," we see that the word Heaven is still used by metonymy for the Deity; and Webster gives as one of his definitions of the word Heaven, "the Supreme Power, the Sovereign of Heaven, God." We have cited the preceding quotations from Scripture, and other sources, merely to shew; that the employment of the word Heaven in the sense of the Supreme Power is common to both western and eastern writers, and that it is no objection to a term intended to signify the Deity that it has been used interchangeably with the word Heaven. On the contrary, if it can be shewn that the people to whose language the term belongs, have been in the habit of using it interchangeably with Heaven, in the sense of the Supreme Power, it would only demonstrate that the people in question considered the term as adequately representing the Supreme. This will be found to be the case in Chinese, with regard to the word Te or Shang te, and the inference to be drawn from such an employment of it is, that the Chinese considered Te as meaning, in one of its senses, the Supreme Being, as far as they were acquainted with him.

In the 我將 Gnò ts'ang section of the Book of Odes, Chuy-tsze remarks, that "all things come originally from Heaven," and a little further on, he says, that "all things get their forms completed from Te," shewing that he considered the two terms as applicable to the same being; but lest any mistake should occur on the subject, he adds, "Heaven is the same as Te:" while another commentator on this passage says, that "帝只是天天只是帝 Te ch'ih shé t'h'een, t'h'een ch'ih shé Te, Te means Heaven, and Heaven means Te."

In the 玄鳥 Heuen neaou section of the Book of Odes, speaking of Te directing Ching-t'hang to regulate the empire, a commentator says, that "the poet speaks of Heaven at the commencement of the ode, and here of Te, because Heaven is the same as Te, they are 互文 hoo wăn, interchangeable terms."

In the Shoo-king, book 4, section 6, the invariable principle is said to be the instruction sanctioned by Te, which the commentator calls the instruction of Heaven.

In the 4th book, 11th section, the predilections of the western inhabitants of China in favour of Wăn-wang, are said to have been "heard by Shang-te, when Te approved, and Heaven commissioned Wăn-wang to make war on the Yin dynasty." In this passage the terms in question are used with reference to the same being.

In the 皇矣 Hwang é section of the Book of Odes,

speaking of the majesty of Te looking down on this lower world, a commentator says, "How great is Heaven in the government of the world ! the dignity of his approaches may be said to be resplendent and glorious. He searches through all quarters to find one that may tranquillize the people."

In the Chow-le, sect. 2. page 33, the king is said to have offered a great sacrifice to Shang-te, which the commentator says, was the sacrifice presented to Heaven, and peculiar to Shang-te.

In the Shoo-king, book 3, section 11, speaking of Shang-te's being able to renew the virtues of the first ancestor, the commentator changes the phrase into Shang-t'h'ên, High Heaven.

In the same work, 5th book, 3rd sect. where one sage is said to influence Imperial Heaven, and another to influence Shang-te, a commentator says, that "Imperial Heaven and Shang-te both refer to Heaven, and the difference is only in the variation of the expression 變其文耳 p'ên kâ wân êrh; the mode of expression is different, but the subject matter is the same."

In the same, book 1, sect. 2. treating of offering to Shang-te the sacrifice corresponding to Heaven, a commentator says, that the sacrifice to Heaven is the same as that offered to Shang-te.

In the same, book 3, sect. 2, one is said to have "transgressed by inventing a false decree of High Heaven, which Te considered as improper, and conferred the decree on another family." The paraphrast on this passage refers the decree of Heaven to Shang-te, and the disapprobation of Te to Heaven, shewing that he considered them as interchangeable terms.

In the same, book 3, sect. 3, the phrase 皇上帝 Hwang Shang-te occurs in the text, which a commentator explains by saying that Hwang means great, and Shang-te refers to Heaven. In the text, Hwang Shang-te is said to confer the perfect medium on mankind, which the commentator thus explains, "Heaven sends down its decree, and furnishes men with the principles of benevolence, rectitude, propriety, wisdom and truth; this is called a virtuous nature, following out which men pursue the right course."

In the same section, the writer talks of submitting himself to the inspection of Shang-te's mind, upon which Choo-foo-tszè has the following remark, "virtue and vice are all known to Heaven; it is as if a catalogue of all our faults were made out and reckoned up; when you do any thing good, it is present to the mind of Te, and when I do any

thing bad it is also present to the mind of Te." The phrase "the mind of Shang-te" is explained by the commentator to mean the "mind of Heaven."

In the I-ke, 7th vol. page 28, there is a reference to the blessing of Te, which the commentator calls the blessing of Heaven.

In the Shoo-king, Book 4, sect. 1, Woo-wang says, "Heaven in order to protect mankind has appointed princes and teachers, whose duty is to assist Shang-te," which Morrison in his Dictionary, part 1, vol. 1. page, 866. renders the Most High Ruler.

In the 83rd section of the Collection of Imperial Odes, the poet says, that "sincere thoughts are to be ascribed to the virtuous nature bestowed on us by Te."

We have already seen from Kang-he, that Shang-te means Heaven. But it is not necessary to multiply proofs upon this point, as the fact has been admitted by those arguing on the opposite side of the question, and it has even been alledged as a reason why Shang-te or Te should not be employed for God, because it is used synonymously with Heaven by Chinese writers, and as T'héen (Heaven) would be inadmissible, therefore Te is inadmissible likewise. But it must be remembered, that T'héen is synonymous with Te in one sense, and not in all. In the sense in which T'héen is used synonymously with Te, viz. with reference to the Ruling Power above, the use of T'héen is unobjectionable, because the Scriptures use the word Heaven for God with the same reference; but in the sense in which T'héen is not synonymous with Te, viz. in the sense of the visible expanse over our heads, no one contends for the use of Te in the sense of T'héen, and Te does not convey the same idea as T'héen. It was no doubt because the Chinese felt that T'héen was inadequate to express all that was meant when they intended the Supreme Power, that they adopted the word Te, as more exact than its synonyme. To object therefore against Te, because it is in a certain sense synonymous with Heaven, is to object against a word of more definite signification when used in the stead of one of more general import, with which it is sometimes synonymous. The word "court" for instance is sometimes used for the person presiding in that court; and "government" is employed to designate the individual directing that government; but when we wish to be more particular in our expressions, we employ the term judge or ruler, to signify the person or individual alluded to; it would not be a sufficient objection, however, against the latter terms that they had been used synonymously with the former, and as the other terms were inadequate to express the full idea,

so were these also ; but we should rather argue, that as the former terms were known to express authority and dignity, so these, which were employed to denote the person wielding such authority, and possessing such dignity, were still more expressive of the authority and dignity alluded to, divested of the associations which characterized the others. But some may argue, that as Heaven in Chinese is commonly associated with earth, and as both are worshipped with divine honours, therefore to use a term which is synonymous with one of them, would imply a tacit sanction of the dual system of the Chinese. To this it may be replied, however, that it is in this very particular, Te differs from T'hên and is preferable to it ; because Te is never considered as synonymous with heaven and earth together, but with heaven only ; and there is no reference to the dual system when Te is used.

Some have said, that as Te is synonymous with T'hên, and as the Roman Catholics have abandoned the use of T'hên, they should be sorry to see Protestants adopt it ; but the bringing of T'hên into general use, as a designation for the Supreme, is a very different thing from using Te as an appellative for God ; and if the circumstance of the Roman Catholics having been driven partially to abandon T'hên, were an argument against it, the same mode of reasoning would tell against Shin, for they have abandoned it altogether as an appellative for God.

A few words may be necessary here to meet the statements so frequently made, that Te or Shang-te merely means " the Supreme God of the Chinese, their chief God, one of the greatest of the Chinese Gods, the proper name of their principal idol," &c. To all this it will be sufficient to answer, that the Chinese represent the being referred to as, with respect to supreme authority and universal dominion, synonymous with Heaven : now Heaven is not supreme over one nation merely, but all nations, it overspreads the whole world, and is looked to with reverence by every one : therefore we conclude, that by Heaven is not meant the chief God of the Chinese, but the Supreme ruling power, known and acknowledged in China and everywhere else ; the word being used in almost every nation by metonymy for God. Since Te then is synonymous with Heaven in this sense, it must be considered as a term in Chinese representing the Supreme Being, as far as that people were acquainted with him. That Te is not the proper name of an idol, or of the chief idol of the Chinese, we shall shew in the sequel by pointing out its application to various inferior spiritual beings, worshipped by the Chinese, from which it appears to be the appellative for Divinities in general, and not the proper name of any individual God in particular.

The attempt has been made to shew that Te or Shang-te is the Zeus or Jupiter of the Greeks and Latins; but we think that it will be seen from the following considerations, that there is not much similarity traceable between them: of Zeus or Jupiter, the classical writers have invented a regular history, detailing his origin, pedigree, birth, education and voluptuous indulgences and associations; not a feature of resemblance to which is ever indicated in Chinese classical books with respect to Te or Shang-te. In short the former was everything that a corrupt imagination could devise, while of the latter nothing is predicated but what is consistent with the purest system of natural religion. For the Jupiter of the Greeks and Latins we may find some counterpart in the Yü-hwang Shang-te of the Taoists, who was born at a certain period, who had a wife and children, and is frequently represented by images, as a monarch sitting on his throne, and holding his court in Heaven. But this is confessedly a very different being from the Te or Shang-te of the Confucian classics.

Another remark we may here make, with regard to Te, as synonymous with Heaven, in the sense of the Supreme, as far as the Chinese knew him, is that such a representation of Te shews that he is in fact a being, possessing power, and exercising dominion; and inasmuch as no one would understand the word Heaven, when applied to the Divinity, as merely descriptive of office, so no one would suppose that Te in the same sense, is a mere relative designation, but represents one who is in his own nature exalted above all.

Thus we find the term in question used interchangeably with Heaven, in the language of a people who look upon Heaven as the Supreme, proving thereby that they esteem the being designated by this term as in their view the Supreme, while they offer religious worship to other spiritual beings called Tes. It will not be maintained that the same amount of proof can be brought in favour of Shin's meaning the Supreme God and inferior divinities, as can be adduced with respect to Te. The Greeks (as we have seen in the first part of this enquiry) had an idea of one being, called Theos, whom they considered the first origin and Supreme Ruler of all, while they applied the term to a variety of inferior divinities, thus constituting it an appellative for God; but the Chinese have no idea of one being called Shin, whom they look upon as Supreme, at the same time applying the term to a multitude of divinities. Thus they never speak of Shin as synonymous with Heaven, in the same way as they do of Te; nor do they call Shin and T'hëen interchangeable terms. Kano-he does not say that Shin is one of the names of Hea-

ven, nor that Shên under any modification is equivalent to Heaven. The Chinese do not say that Imperial Heaven and Shên, both refer to Heaven (the divinity); nor that they are convertible terms. The mind of Te and the mind of Heaven are alike; the same cannot be said of Shên; finally Te is said to be nothing more than T'héen, and T'héen than Te, which language is never employed with respect to Shên.

III. Te or Shang-te, is called the Lord and Governor of Heaven.

In the passage from the 4th sect. 5th chap. of the Book of Diagrams, already referred to, where the text speaks of Te causing things to issue forth in spring, the Commentator tells us, that Te is the Lord and Governor of Heaven.

In the Le-ke, vol. 3. page 57. the officers are directed to sigh and cry for rain to Te; who, the Commentator tells us, is the Lord and Governor of Heaven.

In the Ta-yay section of the Book of Odes, the Te spoken of in the text, is described by the Commentator as the Lord and Governor of Heaven.

In the Shoo-king, 5th book, 5th section, the Commentator says, "when reference is made to the protecting influence which overshadows mankind, the word Heaven is used, and when the reference is to the Lord of all, the word Te is employed."

In the Book of Odes, in the 正月 Ching yü section, a commentator remarks, that "speaking of the visible canopy over our heads, we call it heaven, but speaking of the Lord and Governor there, we call him Te."

In the Chow-le, vol. 3. page 1. the Commentator tells us, that "speaking of the form and substance stretched over our heads, we call it heaven, but speaking of the Lord and Governor of the same, we call him Te."

So also in the Shoo-king, book 1. sect. 2. the same remark occurs. Likewise in book 3. sect. 2. the Commentator says, that "T'héen is used with reference to the form and substance of the heavens, and Te with reference to the Lord and Governor thereof."

In the works of Choo-foo-tsze, sect. 12. page 12. one asked, in regard to the phrase, "offending against Heaven," whether Heaven in that passage meant the azure canopy of heaven, or the principle of order? to which Choo replied, "the substance or body is called heaven, and the Lord and Governor thereof is called Te; but you must not confound this being with him whom the Taouists call 三清大帝 San ts'hing tá te, the thrice pure Great Te, whom they represent as enrobed in splendour, and enthroned in state," (i. e. you must not confound

him with any symbolical representation, however glorious.)

In the 大雅 Ta-yay Canto of the Book of Odes, speaking of Wān-wang's shining brightly in the realms above, a commentator says, "Heaven is exalted on high, and the 神 shin (spirit) of Wān-wang is also on high. Te is the Lord and Governor of Heaven and Wān-wang's 神 shin (spirit) ascends and descends in the presence of Te; shewing that where 天帝 T'hēen-te is, there Wān-wang is also."

On the Chung-yung, page 14, a commentator remarks, "Shang-te is the Lord and Governor of Heaven, as the human mind is the lord and governor of the body." Again, in the Dictionary called, 諸聲品字箋 Hee shing p'hin tsze tsan, we read, 帝者天之宰也天之主宰曰帝身之主宰曰心 Te chay t'hēen che tsae yai; T'hēen che choo tsae yue Te. shin che choo tsae yue sin, "Te is the Governor of Heaven; the Lord and Governor of Heaven is called Te, as the lord and governor of the body is called the mind;" the same work says, "according to the Shoo-king, Heaven is without any private partialities, but favours the respectful; again, the decree of Heaven constituting any one emperor is hardly to be relied upon, because it is not invariably secured to one family. Further, on those who do good, Heaven sends down a hundred blessings, and on those who do evil, it sends down a hundred calamities; now if in the midst of all, there was only this undistinguishing principle of order, and breath of nature, revolving round and round; and if there were no such thing as a 至靈之真宰 ché ling che chin tsae, perfectly spiritual divine Ruler,—then who is there to display these partialities and impartialities? and who is there respecting whom it can be said that his decree is hardly to be relied upon, and is not invariably secured to one family, while he sends down blessings or calamities upon people? Is it not he whom we call 皇皇之上帝 hwang hwang che Shang-te, the great and majestic Shang-te? But we people, living daily under the Divine inspection, do not know how to cultivate our fear and caution, so as to dread the Majesty of Heaven; whilst we dare with our little cunning and selfish feelings, to contend against 帝天 te t'hēen, the Heaven of Te; are we not unreflecting in the extreme?"

A writer in the Chow-le has said, "when we wish to unite the idea of the Glorious Heavens, combining it with the notion of the Five Tes, and collect all together into one object of worship, whose throne is on high, and when we

cannot otherwise find any single appellation for that being, we designate him by one term Shang-te."

The Taoists say, that Te is the Lord and Governor of Heaven. They also say, that Shang-te is the Lord and Governor of the three powers of nature, (heaven, earth, and sea) managing the frame and axle of the universe. In the **神仙通鑑** Shên sên t'hung kéen, a fabulous work compiled by the adherents of the Taou sect, we have the following passage; "The Great Shun, observing that the seven powers (viz. the sun, moon, and five planets) were all equally arranged, knew that a celestial decree ordering this must exist somewhere; therefore when he took charge of the affairs of the empire, he sacrificed to heaven and earth, at the round hillock: on which occasion, looking up, he thought within himself; in this azure expanse of heaven, where the original **氣** breath or spirit is thus bright and expansive, how is it possible that there can be no **主宰** choo chae, Ruler to govern all? He therefore thought upon an exalted designation for this being, and called him the Shang-te of the bright heavens, and the Great Te, the Lord of Heaven."

From the above we perceive that Te is not only considered by the Chinese as synonymous with Heaven, but as the Lord and Governor of the same: for they made a distinction between the body of heaven, and the Ruling Power on high: which latter is by the various sects called Te. Here we may observe, that Te must be an existence, a separate and independent being, or he could not be the Lord and Governor of Heaven. A nonentity, or a mere title could not be the ruler of anything, much less the ruler of all. If the Te who produced all things be also the governor of all things, in what capacity does he exist? If it be said, that he is a Shin; we grant it, in the sense of a spiritual and intelligent being. But there are other spiritual and intelligent beings in the universe, of whom both eastern and western writers speak; and it is not the peculiar property of a spirit either to produce or to govern the world. In Europe we never speak of a spirit as such making and ruling all things, neither do the Chinese talk of Shin's originally producing the myriad of things. We have never met with a single passage in which Shin is called the Lord and Governor of Heaven; if such can be found let it be pointed out: but if Shin meant God, in the same way that Theos and Deus mean God, and if it were in the sense of being a Shin that Te is said to be the Lord and Governor of Heaven, then Shin might justly and properly be called the Lord and Governor of Heaven, just as we have seen that Te is, but such an attribute is

never ascribed to Shin, and we believe according to the genius of the Chinese language could not be. It is not therefore in his capacity as a Shin, or spirit, that Te can be said to exist as Lord and Governor of Heaven, but in his capacity as Te that he so exists. We should not say in English that God exists merely as a spirit; he is a spirit, * it is true, but he is much more than a mere spirit. So in Chinese Te may be said to be a Shin, but he possesses perfections of a higher character than are ascribed to a mere Shin or spirit, and therefore neither the word spirit nor Shin can fully and adequately express the existence of God or of Te, in English or Chinese. In English we should say, God exists as God; and so in Chinese we must say, that Te exists as Te; and further we cannot go, but by giving some of the other names by which God or Te is known. Kang-he says, that Te is the name of 天 t'hên, the Divinity, as far as the Chinese were acquainted with the Divinity. We must acknowledge therefore that Te is the name of a being, and of the greatest of beings known to the Chinese; we shall soon shew that Te is the name of other beings in the invisible world, therefore it is the name of a class of beings, and the appellative for God.

IV. The 天命 T'hên ming, divine decrees are ascribed to 帝 Te or 上帝 Shang-te.

The 天命 T'hên ming, divine decree, according to the Chinese, is the decree or will of Heaven. This may mean, in certain cases, the irreversible decree of fate, spoken of by western writers. But in the quotations which will now be presented, it rather signifies the special command, or appointment of the Supreme, regulating the affairs of nations and their rulers. By this decree kings were set up and dynasties appointed; when the decree of Heaven was supposed to be settled in favour of any particular family, the people yielded them implicit obedience; but when it was thought to be removed, opposition to them was no longer considered as rebellion. Hence the frequent recurrence of the phrases, that the decree of Heaven is not invariably fixed in one family, and that no reliance is to be placed upon its being perpetuated, any longer than the rulers of the respective dynasties obeyed and pleased the Ruling Power above. On this account monarchs are exhorted not to depend too much upon it, because when the Supreme Ruler is angry with the reign-

* "As every rational and moral power is termed a spirit, so God is a spirit." Storrs and Platt.

ing sovereign, he cuts off the decree established in his favour, and sets up another family. From all this it will appear, that the decision in question belongs to one, by whom kings reign and princes decree justice. Thus Win-wang, when he thought he had ascertained the decree to be in his favour, did not dare to set it aside, but without hesitation went to war with the tyrannical monarch of the former dynasty, who he thought was deposed by the Supreme. Even in the present day, the reigning family are under the impression that they were appointed by Heaven to rule, and only so long as they can secure the favour of the Supreme, do they expect to be able to retain the throne. Here we may observe, that this decree is not the ordinance of one, whom the Chinese consider as merely the tutelary deity of the empire, and thus peculiar to China, but the decree of Heaven, whose ruler like its canopy overspreads the whole world. We may further observe, that this decree is not supposed by the Chinese to be established by Shin, because the Chinese never ascribe the settlement of the empire to any one Shin or spirit, irrespective of the being to whom such spirit belongs, or of whom it is descriptive.*

Having premised these observations, we proceed to adduce quotations on the subject of the 天命 t'héen ming, divine decrees being ascribed to Te, or Suang-te.

In the Shoo-king, 6th book, 4th section, it is said that "Wán and Woo were able to receive the correct decree from

* We are aware that the Taou-tih-king contains a passage, sect. 25. intimating that "the empire is a 神器 shin k'he, implement with which spiritual beings have some concern," upon which the Commentator says, that 有神司之 yew shin sze che, there are spiritual beings who have charge of it. The word "charge," however, means management under the control of a principal, to whom an account must be given; and is used for officers of government who are subject to the emperor. Kang-he explains it as of 臣司事於外 chin sze szé yu wae, a minister attending to affairs abroad, or transacting business at a distance from the court: hence the character is formed of 后 how, a prince or king reversed. It is evident, therefore, that the spirits here referred to cannot have the supreme controul of the empire.

The Kwei Shins, or presiding spirits of the stars and planets, hills and rivers, are represented in the Tao-chuen, as 立 lei, appointing, or by some sign indicating the appointment, of the subordinate princes of the different states of the empire; but these states are of inferior dimensions, and their princes are subject to the emperor as their liege lord; the spirits above referred to, are also regarded as

Shang-te, while high Heaven accorded with their principles, and conferred upon them universal rule." The paraphrast calls the decree above referred to the "correct decree of High Heaven."

In the **大雅** Ta-yay section of the Book of Odes, the decree of Te is said to be rightly timed in the case of Wān-wang; upon which the Commentator remarks, that "the decree here mentioned is the decree of Heaven."

In the next sentence but two, the poet says, "Shang-te having passed his decree in favour of Chow, all are bound in obedience to that dynasty." This decree is called by the paraphrast "the decree of Heaven."

In the Shoo-king, 4th book, section 9. "The clever men who aided Woo-wang were able to trace out and understand the decree of Shang-te," which decree is called by the Commentator "the decree of Heaven."

In the same work, book 5. section 5. Chow-kung says, that "he did not presume to rest too confidently on the decree of Shang-te, lest he should become regardless of the anticipated inflictions of Heaven, or imagine that the people may not at some time murmur and rebel." This decree is called by the Commentator "the decree of Heaven."

In the same work, book 5. section 1. "The Shang-te of Imperial Heaven is said to have changed the decree once passed in favour of his chief son, the sovereign of the Yin dynasty;" upon which the Commentator remarks, "that the chief son could not be changed, but Heaven changed him."

In the same work, book 1. section 5. Yu, in addressing Shun, said, "Act thus, in order luminously to receive (the decree of) Shang-te; and then, should Heaven issue any new decree, it would be of an excellent kind (in your favor)."

In the Le-ke, vol. 9. page 19. a quotation is made from one of the odes, regarding obedience to the commands of Te, saying, that "the decree of Te did not reject the family spoken of, until the time of Ching-t'hang, when this decree was settled upon him. Ching-t'hang was humble, and yet active; his sage-like and respectful qualities daily advanced; slowly

inferior to, or at most only on a level with, the emperor; as such, they are supposed to have a certain influence over the various states, just as the ancestral spirits have an influence over particular households, but they cannot, according to the Chinese theory pass a decree appointing the emperor to sit on the throne of universal dominion. Only Shang-te, Heaven and earth, with the imperial ancestors rank above the reigning monarch: all other objects of worship are on a level with, or inferior to him; they could not therefore appoint him to the throne.

but luminously expanding he revered Shang-te, and Te constituted him monarch of the nine provinces of China." Here Te, Shang-te, and T'h'ien, are used interchangeably, in such a manner, as to shew that they refer to the same being.

We meet with the same expression in the **長發** Chang-fa section of the Book of Odes, which says, that "Te's decree was not reversed, until Ching-t'hang appeared: his birth was opportune, and his sacred feeling of respect daily mounted higher and higher, until it reached to Heaven, and became permanent; towards Shang-te he was respectful, and Te directed him to become a pattern to the nine provinces."

In the Shoo-king, book 5, section 8, "Ching-t'hang is said to have been advanced to promote in an eminent degree the glorious will of Shang-te;" which the paraphrast calls "the resplendent will of Shang-te, which is gloriously manifested throughout the empire."

In the same work, book 3, section 5, Ching-t'hang addressing the heir-apparent says, "The decree of Shang-te is not invariably fixed in favour of one individual; if you do good, he will send down a hundred blessings, if you do evil, he will send down a hundred curses." The paraphrast says, that Heaven will send down these blessings or curses.

In the **大學** Ta-hü, page 11, the paraphrast says, "The decree appointing any one to be emperor rests with Heaven, and the inclination of Heaven follows that of the people; when a monarch therefore obtains the hearts of the people, Shang-te favours him; but when he loses the hearts of the people, Shang-te is angry with him, and he loses the throne."

In the **皇矣** Hwang-e section of the Book of Odes, we read that, "Shang-te observing that the two former dynasties, of Hëá and Shang, had failed in the practice of government, brought forward the family of Chow, and enlarged their borders." The paraphrast says, that "Shang-te, though dwelling on high, condescends to regard this lower world, and gloriously displays his bright designs. His purpose is to seek the peaceful settlement of the people: but though this be High Heaven's main design, the most important means of promoting it is the selection of a proper prince. The Hëá and Shang dynasties having failed in the matter of government, Shang-te looked abroad among the surrounding states, to see who was best calculated for tranquillizing the people, and be the one whom He would wish to promote, whereupon he enlarged the borders of the house of Chow, that they might have some foundation on which to rest the fortunes of their family."

In the Shoo-king, book 5, sect. 5, Shang-te is said to have

'cut off the Yin dynasty, and to have concentrated the decree upon the person of Wän-wang.'

In 孟子 Mäng-tsze, sect. 4, page 6, the text speaks of "Shang-te's having decreed that the descendants of Yin should be in subjection to the Chow dynasty," the commentator, ascribes this to the decree of Heaven; shewing the identity of Shang-te's decree with that of Heaven, a mode of expression never used with regard to the Kwei Shins.

In the 周詠 Chow-sung section of the Book of Odes, Shang-te is said to have "constituted Woo-wang and his successors sovereigns of the empire."

In the Shoo-king, book 4, sect. 9. Ching-wang, the son of Woo-wang, said that he did not dare to set aside the command of Shang-te, and Heaven's intelligent decree being thus awful, he calls upon his people to aid him. Upon which the commentator remarks, "that having discovered, by means of prognostications, that it was the will of Shang-te that he should go on a certain expedition, he did not dare to contravene the commands of the Highest Potentate." The paraphrast also says, "that divination is that by means of which we connect ourselves with the intelligence of Heaven, and the prognostications being all favourable, the expedition against the rebels was really what Shang-te had commanded."

In the same work, 4th book, 5th section, Woo-wang says, that "he ventured respectfully to receive (the decree of) Shang-te, in order to suppress rebellious counsels."

In the 御製文集 Yü ché wän tseih, a collection of essays ascribed to the monarchs of the present dynasty, sect. 23, page 1, a 帝女 te nyu, divine female (called in the 東華錄 Tung hwa lü, a 天女 t'heen nyu, celestial female) is said to have miraculously brought forth a holy son, to whom Te gave the surname of Ghioro (which act, in the work above alluded to, is ascribed to Heaven.)

On the 19th page, Shang-te is said to have "adopted the first ancestor of the present imperial family as his son, until Shun-che, obeying the will of Heaven, ascended the throne; having ascertained that the decree of Te, no longer favouring the Ming dynasty, had regarded with complacency the Tartar race." In the 52nd section, page 29, the emperor is addressed saying, "looking up with veneration to the glorious canopy of Heaven, remember that your holding the sceptre depends on the protection of Te."

Prefixed to the 幼學 Yew hão is a historical poem, in which the writer, speaking of the present dynasty, says, "the mind of Te surveyed the glories of the Tartar dynas-

ty, and raised T'hên-ming to the throne, who after reigning eleven years reverted to the palace of Te."

In a work entitled 格物通 K'hih wûh t'hung, sect. 98, we have a similar expression, ascribed to the first emperor of the Ming dynasty: "Day and night I think upon the trust reposed in me by Shang-te."

So also in the Collection of Imperial Essays above referred to, Shun-che the first emperor of the present dynasty speaks of "carrying out the business entrusted to him by Te."

The above passages are sufficient to prove that the Chinese throughout all ages have considered that the settlement of the empire, with the rise and fall of dynasties, is entirely subject to the controul of Shang-te, Te, or T'hên, by whose decree emperors are raised up or set aside; while their rule is perpetuated or cut off, according to his will. In all this we have no reference made to any being called 神 Shin, who thus disposes of the fate of empires. If Te were merely the title of the Supreme Being in the estimation of the Chinese, and if Shin were generic for the class to whom Te belongs, in the sense of Divinities, it would be proper to use Shin for the chief (as well as for inferior individuals of the said class,) when speaking of what such chief of the class is and does; and thus we should certainly find the Chinese using the term 神 命 Shin-ming, with reference to the decrees or commands of God, as the Greeks and Latins did Theos or Deus; but the Chinese never have employed Shin in this way, from which we infer that they did not view it in the same light as the western Pagans did their generic term for God, and therefore that the one is not equivalent to the other. In order to shew that the power to 命 ming, decree or command, in respect to the highest temporal interests of men is not predicable of Shin, let the word Shin be substituted for Te in any of the passages which we have just quoted from the Chinese classics, and see if it would be agreeable to the *usus loquendi* of the Chinese language: or, let other passages from equally respectable sources be brought forward, shewing that Shin alone thus disposes of the fates of nations and dynasties; or let the identity of 神 命 Shin ming, the decree of Shin, with 天命 T'hên ming, the decree of Heaven, be established. But until these things can be done, we must demur to the conclusion that Shin is equivalent to Theos, in the sense of the highest as well as the lowest divinity. In every language with which we are acquainted, the name of the whole class of divinities can be used for the chief divinity; if a term be brought forward assuming to be the

name of the whole class of divinities in any language, which cannot according to the *usus loquendi* of that language be used alone for the chief divinity; in speaking of what he is and does, it is presumptive evidence that the true meaning of the term has been mistaken; and though the chief divinity may be described by the term in question, yet if the said term cannot be used interchangeably for that chief divinity, then we are to presume that the sense to be put upon the term, when used in describing the Supreme, is not divinity, but superhuman being, invisible intelligence, spiritual existence, or such like. Shin cannot be used in the stead of T'heñ or Te, when speaking of the divine decrees; therefore, Shin cannot be used interchangeably with a term expressive of the Supreme Being in the estimation of the Chinese: and hence we conclude that Shin is not generic for God in their language.

V. Superintending Providence is ascribed to Te or Shang-te.

That a general Providence is ascribed to Te will appear from the following.

In the Shoo-king, 5th book, 3d section. Chow-kung observes, "I have heard it said, that Shang-te leads men on by gentle methods, but the ruler of Hsia would not yield to a mild influence, and when Te sent down his inflictions to make known his will to this tyrant of Hsia, he was not able to profit by Te's (dispensations), but became excessively dissolute, until Heaven at length refused to listen to him, and abrogating the original decree in his favour, inflicted condign punishment upon him."

In the 正月 Ching-yun section of the Book of Odes, it is said, that "when people are in jeopardy they look to Heaven, and find it dark and indistinct; but when the retributions of Providence have once been settled, every one is obliged to submit; in these things we observe the doings of the Great Shang-te, who does nothing out of hatred or ill-will."

In the Shoo-king, book 4, section 11. "The fragrance of Wän-wang's virtue was perceived by Shang-te, whereupon Te approved, and Heaven fully authorized Wän-wang to make war on the Yin dynasty."

In the 皇矣 Hwang-e section of the Book of Odes, "Te is said to have regulated the mind of Wang-k'he, so that his virtuous nature became enlightened, and he was fit for ruling over this great country."

In 孟子 Mäng-tsze, section 1, page 19, the paraphrast says, that "Shang-te confers on kings their honourable stations, and distinguishes them above all others."

In the Shoo-king, book 5, section 1, Chaou-kung advises Ching-wang, saying, "Let your Majesty now connect and carry out the authority of Shang-te, and subdue yourself in this central land," intimating that the authority of kings was derived from above, and that in the proper exercise of it monarchs were but carrying out the authority of the Supreme.

In the same work, book 3, sect. 1, Ching-t'hang said, that "he dreaded Shang-te, and seeing that the monarch of the Hsia dynasty had been guilty of so many crimes, he did not dare to refuse to correct him."

In the same work, book 3, sect. 3, the inspection of things is said "to rest with the mind of Te;" who searches into and surveys the actions of men, rewarding or blaming them according to justice.

In the 大明 Ta-ming section of the Book of Odes, Wān-wang is said to be "cautious in the extreme, intelligently serving Te, and thus bringing upon himself much happiness. When he had to attack the Yin dynasty, whose multitudes were congregated like the leaves of a forest, he was encouraged by the assurance that Shang-te would be with him, and raise his mind above hesitation." Upon which a commentator remarks, "When the tyrant came on with his countless hosts, had Wān-wang compared the weak with the strong, and the many with the few, his mind would certainly have been in doubt; but at that time his mind was wholly set upon carrying out the inflictions of Heaven, and he felt as if Shang-te was really near him. Hence the poet says, Shang-te is with you, and will raise your mind above hesitation."

In the Shoo-king, book 4, section 6, "Kwān is said to have attempted to stem the overwhelming waters, and to have interfered with the five elements; whereupon Te was moved with indignation, and withheld from him the great plan; which was afterwards conferred by Heaven upon his son." The paraphrast says, that "Kwān's efforts tended to introduce disorder into the five elements of Shang-te, whereupon Te was displeased, and, as it were, withheld from him the great plan for regulating the empire."

In the same work, book 5, section 7, Shang-te is said to have "sent down calamities on the Hsia dynasty, whose sovereign was unable for a single day to urge himself on in the way marked out by Te." The Commentator says, that "in the seeing and hearing, the motion and rest of our every day pursuits, all depends on Shang-te's leading out and drawing on mankind." Another says, that "in our daily avocations and common walk, there is something as it were

leading on the intelligence of the mind, so that the most stupid individual, in every thought, is invariably led on by Te, who is everywhere present. Men should therefore indefatigably follow out the divine rule of right, and the virtuous nature conferred by the decree of Heaven would be certainly apparent."

In the 大明 Ta-ming section of the Book of Odes, speaking of Wān-wang's diligently serving Shang-te, a commentator says, that "Wān-wang felt as if he was all day long in the presence of Shang-te."

In the Le-ke, vol. 4, page 26, Wān-wang said, that he had been dreaming that Te had bestowed upon him 90 years of life. And in another place, Shang-te is said to have conferred on 繆公 Mew-kung nine years more of life.

In the Collection of Imperial Essays, section 24, page 7, the royal poet asks, "on whom do we rely for the staff of life but Te?" In the 86th section, page 21st, we read of the goodness of Te, who delights in fostering human life; and in the 88th section, 9th page, it is said, "that to preserve human life is really the attribute of Te."

In all the above quotations, there is not the slightest reference to Te or Shang-te's acting under the authority of another, while the passages adduced mostly refer to those general and important affairs, which respect monarchs or the world at large, in managing which we do not find the Shins, as such, engaged. The Greeks had their *Theoi*, who severally presided over different parts of the universe, and yet it was proper in the Greek language to speak of *ho Theos* as taking the general superintendence of the whole. If the Shins meant Gods in Chinese, as the *Theoi* did in the Greek, then it would be proper to speak of the one individual called Shin as taking the general charge of human affairs; but we do not find the Chinese speak of Shin's conferring on rulers the most honourable stations, nor of kings carrying out the authority of Shin, nor of the emperor being called the chief son of Shin, nor of the actions of monarchs being exposed to the minute inspection of Shin's mind.

The generic word for God, in all languages with which we are acquainted, is used to designate the One Being who is supposed to exercise the general superintendence of Providence; but the word Shin is not so employed by the Chinese; we may argue, therefore, from a comparison with other languages, that it is not the generic word for God, and that when it is employed with reference to certain individuals having charge over different departments of this lower world, it cannot be taken in the sense of God, but in that of spirit, or

spiritual beings, who are as little regarded as Gods, as the angels were, according to the Jewish and Arabian writers.

VI. Divine acts and attributes are ascribed to Te or Shang-te.

In the **皇矣** Hwang-e section of the Book of Odes, we read, "How majestic is Shang-te: looking down on this lower world, how gloriously does he shine! Casting his glance around on all quarters, he seeks the peaceful settlement of the people:" which is thus enlarged on by the paraphrast, "That majestic one, Shang-te, although lofty and exalted, and dwelling on high, yet condescends to regard this lower world, and gloriously displays his bright designs. His purpose in surveying the four quarters of the world is none other than to seek the peaceful settlement of the people, so that no one individual may be deprived of that which may promote his life and growth."

In the Shoo-king, 1st book, 2d section, the paraphrast speaks of Shang-te as "the high imperial one, the most honourable and without compare."

In the **湯** T'hang section of the Book of Odes, the poet exclaims, "the vast and sublim: Shang-te is the governor among the nations."

In the **益** Yih section of the Book of Diagrams, kings are said to worship Te, while the paraphrast says, that with regard to kings, Shang-te is above them, and all kings are subject to him.

In the Collection of the Imperial Odes, 9th sect. 6th page, the writer says "We reverence Shang-te, because he widely overspreads all regions."

In the **前漢王莽傳** T'sên han wang mang chuen, the writer speaks of "being able to satisfy the mind of Shang-te;" which Morrison renders in his Dictionary, Part 1, vol. 1, page 329, "the mind of the Supreme (Divine) Ruler."

In the **生民** Săng-min section of the Book of Odes, we have a reference to Keang yuen, who is supposed to have conceived in a miraculous manner, by "treading in the imprinted footsteps of Te," which Morrison renders in his Dictionary, Part I, vol. 1, page 495. "the footstep of the Supreme Sovereign." In the same section we read of 'Shang-te's granting repose;" which Morrison, in the same page, renders, "Does not the Supreme Sovereign grant repose?"

Morrison, in his Dictionary, Part 1, vol. 1, page 675, says, that Te or Shang-te is expressive of the Most High God;" and quotes a passage from the same section of the Book of

Odes, with regard to Keang yuen, saying that "Te (the Most High) was her defence."

In the 樂善堂 *Le-shen-tang* Collection of Essays, sect. 9, Yung-ching says, "It is Shang-te alone who regards with kindness our country." In the 3th section he says, "I conceive that Shang-te has favourably regarded our dynasty."

In the writings of the poet Soo, we have an ode referring to a spot of forbidden ground, which runs thus: "Te dwells in this place: he has fenced in his altar here; there are Shins guarding it; and Te has ordered the lower people on no account to break up this ground. But Te does not speak; he manifests his will by the thunder and the storm; if people can be aroused by this means, haply Te will forgive them; Te is distant and unknown, who dares to approach towards him? When Te is displeased, unusual things occur, and the ground underneath is shaken, in order to forewarn the people."

In the 皇矣 *Hwang-ye* section of the Book of Odes, Te is represented as addressing Wän-wang, urging him not to pick and choose with selfish motives, but to advance towards the shore (of perfect virtue.) Te is then said to have further addressed Wän-wang, saying, "I have well considered your intelligent virtue, that you follow out the laws of Te;* therefore I, Te, direct you, Wän-wang, to move to the attack of your adversary." In this passage we have an express reference to the distinct personality of Te, in his being said directly to address Wän-wang, and in his making use of the personal pronoun, which shews that the Chinese considered him in the light of a separate being.

In the 文王 *Wän-wang* section of the same book, Chow-kung said, "Behold Wän-wang in the realms above; how brightly does he shine in heaven! Behold Wän-wang is there, ascending and descending in the presence of Te." The Commentator says, that "Wän-wang was at that time dead, while his 神 *shin* (spirit) was in the realms above, shining brightly in heaven; and argues, that if his spirit was in heaven, ascending and descending in the presence of Shang-te, his descendants would certainly participate in

* Morrison, in his Dictionary, Part 1, vol. 1, page 236, has thus rendered the above sentence, "The Majesty (of Heaven) said to Wän-wang, I remember with complacency thy goodness; thou hast obeyed the laws of the (Divine) Majesty." From which we perceive that Morrison considered the word Te as including in itself the ideas of celestial Majesty and Divinity, and thus equivalent to the phrase Supreme Being, as used by western writers.

the influence of his virtue, and maintain their rule over the empire." Choo-foo-tsze, alluding to this passage, argues, that if Wān-wang were in the presence of Te, it would appear that Shang-te really did exist, but it would not do to liken him to the images which the men of this world set up in their temples. (See his works, section 51, page 43.) And a commentator on this passage says, "Heaven is exalted on high, and the spirit of Wān-wang is also on high: Te is the Lord and Governor of Heaven, and Wān-wang's spirit ascends and descends in the presence of Te." From which we may perceive, that the Chinese regarded Te as a real being, existing as Heaven, or the Divinity, while the Shin of Wān-wang is nothing more than his spirit perpetually waiting in the presence of the Supreme. Shin here cannot be taken in the abstract sense of Wān-wang's divinity, because an abstract quality cannot ascend or descend in the presence of another.

In the Shoo-king, 3d book, 12th section, the Emperor Kaou-tsung said, that "he dreamed that Te conferred on him an excellent assistant, who should speak for him." One of the Commentators says, that "Heaven conferred this assistant on the monarch," and Choo-foo-tsze, in his works, sect. 34, page 8, says that "according to this, there must really be a 天帝 T'héen te, who addressed himself to Kaou-tsung, saying, I bestow on you an excellent assistant. Men in the present day, explain this Te as simply meaning the Lord and Governor of all things, saying of him that he has no form, which I fear will not suit: but to refer this being to (the idol of the Taouists called) 玉皇大帝 Yüh hwang ta te, will also, I apprehend, not do. After all how are we to explain this?" the disciples of the philosopher were none of them able to return an answer.

From this it would appear, that Choo-foo-tsze and his scholars did not know exactly how to express themselves on this subject; they thought that there must be a person who thus addressed Kaou-tsung; and to say that he was entirely without form or figure would hardly suit, because Kaou-tsung must have seen or heard something, or in his dream supposed that some being addressed him; hence there must have been an embodying of some kind in the apprehension of the monarch. And yet to liken him to the images represented in the temples of the Taou sect, would be still further from the mark. The philosopher therefore, with his disciples, seem to have been equally at a loss how to represent this being.

The word Te here is translated "God" in Morrison's

Dictionary, Part I, vol. I, page 863, thus ; "God gave him a virtuous assistant," shewing, that in the apprehension of Dr. Morrison, "God" was the proper rendering to be given to Te in this passage. We conceive also, that in all the passages above quoted, Te must be translated God, in order to express the views of the Chinese writers. In the passage regarding Wān-wang, the whole strain of the author would lead us to conclude, that he viewed Te (God) as sitting upon his throne, and the spirit of Wān-wang as waiting in his presence, like an attendant, though shining gloriously. (see 2 Chron. 18 : 18.) In this connection it is evident that Shin belonged to Wān-wang (not in the sense of God, or divinity, but in that of spirit ;) the subject discussed in this part of the works of Choo-foo-tsz is, whether or not the finer and grosser parts of the human soul scatter at death ; whereupon this passage from the Shoo-king is quoted and commented on ; we must therefore conclude that the 神 Shin of Wān-wang referred to his human soul, which separating from his body at death, ascended up on high, to wait in the presence of Te, from whom he derived all his honour and happiness. When men died among the Romans, they were said to *pervenisse ad deos* ; and the expressions employed by Chinese authors are somewhat similar.

In the poems of Soo, sect. 25, we have a reference to an emperor, who at his death was supposed "to mount the fleecy clouds, and soar away with the host of Tes." In the Imperial Essays, sect. 13. a man's spirit, at death, is said "to mount on high, and wait on the celestial Te : " while the death of Yu is described as "a rambling in the region of Te." It will be seen, therefore, that Te in these passages represents the being or beings to whom the departed good return, as *Deus* or *Dii* did among the Romans.

We have above shewn that the Chinese ascribe certain Divine acts and attributes to Te, who is and does the things referred to. These acts and attributes are by Grecian writers ascribed to *Theos*. We therefore conclude that Te is equivalent to *Theos*, as far as the views of the Chinese and the Greeks coincided. If Shin were the proper rendering of *Theos*, as we contend that Te is, then the word Shin might be substituted for Te in these and similar passages, and Shin might be spoken of as being and doing what Te is said to be and do. But the *usus loquendi* of the Chinese would not admit of such an application of the term. Chinese writers do not speak of a mere Shin or spirit, who is and does what Te is and does, nor what *Theos* among the Greeks is said to be and to do : consequently Shin is not equivalent to

Theos as *Te* is. Let us now take some of the above-mentioned acts and attributes, and see if the genius of the Chinese language will admit of their application to Shin. Thus if we were to say, "How Majestic is Shin, how gloriously he shines! looking down on this lower world, he surveys the four quarters, in order to seek the peaceful settlement of the people!" no Chinese would admit the propriety of the expression: nor would they say, "the vast and sublime Shin is the governor among the nations:" nor is it usual with them to say, that "Shin is above all kings, and that sovereigns are beneath his sway." It is never said that Shin "sent down the virtuous medium on mankind," nor that Shin "regulated the mind of an emperor," to act according to his will.

But with regard to all these acts and attributes, it would be proper in the Greek language to use *Theos* alone, without reference to any other being who is the *Theos* doing these things; but it would be improper in Chinese to apply them in the same way to any mere Shin or spirit. It appears then that Shin is not equivalent to *Theos*, and unfit to express the idea conveyed by that word.

We may here observe, that the ascription of the above acts and attributes to *Te* or *Shang-te*, shews that the Chinese considered him as a being, high and lifted up, shining gloriously, surveying this lower world, regarding the interests of mankind, taking account of human actions, considering the virtue of some, forbidding the irreverent approaches of others; designing, determining, governing, overspreading, approving, or disapproving, possessing a mind, leaving the mark of his footsteps, complacently accepting sacrifice, commanding, forbidding, speaking directly to one, and using the personal pronoun in so doing, manifesting his will by the thunder and the storm, surrounded by the spirits of the good as his attendants, and appearing in dreams and visions; all of these acts bespeaking personal individuality and distinct existence. We argue therefore that they looked upon *Te* as a being, and as the greatest of beings with which they were acquainted. We shall see, in the further prosecution of our enquiry, that the word *Te* is used of other spiritual beings honoured with religious worship, hence we conceive that it is employed generically for God in the Chinese language.

VII. Sacrifices and worship of the highest kind are paid to *Te* or *Shang-te*, as well as to other beings called *Te*.

The highest sacrifice which the Chinese have been accustomed to offer, from of old to the present time, is the 帛 *keou*, or "border sacrifice," so called from its having been

presented at the border of the city or country. It has been denominated by European writers, the celestial sacrifice, on account of the object to which it was presented; and the *sub dio* sacrifice, because it was presented in the open air.

In the 古文肩銓 Koo wän mei tseuen, sect. 79, page 2, we read, that, "of the various kinds of ceremonies (both religious and civil) there is none to be put before sacrifice, and of sacrifices there are none more important than those offered to Heaven."

In the Book of Rites, vol. 5, page 21, it is said, that "to sacrifice to Te at the 郊 keaou, border of the country, is the extreme of respect."

In the same work, vol. 4, page 61, men are said to "offer the 郊 keaou, border sacrifice to Te, in order to shew the fixedness of the throne of Heaven."

Formerly the border sacrifice was offered to the Five Tes as well as to Shang-te, or Te, but since the year A. D. 1369, it has been confined to the latter, for state reasons, as we shall presently show. In the present day, the *sub dio* sacrifice is offered to Shang-te or Te, as the principal Being, while the Imperial ancestors are associated with him as secondaries. "The state worship of the present day, is divided into three classes; first, the Ta sze, or great sacrifices; secondly, the Chung-sze, or medium sacrifices; and lastly, the Seaou-sze, or lesser sacrifices." At the great sacrifices offered by the rulers of the present dynasty, at the period of the winter solstice, an altar is erected at the southern side of the capital, of a round form, three stories high, the top of which, or the principal place of honour, is intended for the shrine of Shang-te, or Te; having the shrines of the Imperial ancestors arranged on the right and left hand; while those of the attendant Shins, such as the spirits presiding over the sun, moon, and stars, clouds, wind and rain, are placed on the second story, and are honoured with medium sacrifices. When the sacrifice is to take place, the shrine of Shang-te is escorted to the high altar, and while the fumes of incense are ascending, the emperor greets the approach of the Shin or spirit of Te, after which he ascends the steps and in the presence of Shang-te, and of the Imperial ancestors, offers incense with three kneelings and nine prostrations; this done, he goes towards the shrine of the Imperial ancestors, arranged on each side of the high altar, and offers incense, with three kneelings and nine prostrations. The same ceremonies are gone through with regard to the offerings, which are first presented before the shrine of Shang-te, and then before those dedicated to the Imperial an-

cestors. When the service is completed, the spirit of Te is escorted on its departure by music, and the shrine conducted to the temple, where it is deposited as before. (See the 37th section of the Ta tsing hwuy t'een.)

The various ranks of officers are then led up to the shrines on the second story of the altar belonging to the T'hiên Shin, spirits of heaven, and Te k'he, spirits of earth, who are called the attendant spirits, and after having presented incense and offerings they retire. It is worthy of observation that the offerings at the shrines of Te, and the Imperial ancestors, are the most numerous and splendid: that the prostrations are made by the Emperor in person, and that the Emperor in addressing these objects of his adoration calls himself servant and descendant. The beings whose shrines are elevated on the high altar are Te or Shang-te, and the Imperial ancestors, who are all regarded in the light of Tes. (If it be objected that the dignity of Te or Shang-te is thereby lowered by being regarded as only on a level with the Imperial progenitors, we have only to reply, that the Chinese are in the habit of elevating their emperors during their life-time, and much more after their death, to the rank of Gods, and hence the associations above referred to.) When, however, they have to worship those who are merely Shins, or spirits, they employ a very inferior round of ceremonies.

In the description of these services, as recorded in the state ritual, whatever respects Te or Shang-te, with the Imperial ancestors, who are also Tes, such as their names and titles, their shrines, the sacrifices presented, and the prayers offered, with their Shins or spirits that come and go, approve or accept of the sacrifice, all these are raised three characters above the line, which is the Chinese method of testifying the honour in which the person spoken of is held, and resembles in some measure our mode of putting words in full capitals. Those things, however, which respect the Emperor himself, his name and title, palace, &c. are raised only two characters above the line, which is similar to our practice of printing things in small capitals. In this rank the attendant Shins, or spirits, called the 天神 t'hiên shin, spirits of heaven, and the 地祇 te k'he, spirits of earth, who are supposed to preside over the winds, clouds and rain, with the hills and rivers, are placed, and are thus considered as on a level with the emperor, (See the 38th and 39th section of the Imperial ritual.)

Besides the 郊 keaou, border sacrifice, a 類 luy, corresponding sacrifice is offered, when the emperor has occasion to make an announcement to Te or Shang-te at any other

period than the winter solstice. The first reference to this service is in the second section of the Shoo-king, where Shín on ascending the throne is said to have "offered the corresponding sacrifice to Shang-te, after which he presented an offering to the six honoured objects, looked in his worship towards the hills and rivers, and universally included the host of Shins." One of the commentators says, that the corresponding sacrifice was offered to Heaven; and the paraphrast says that the being contemplated in this service was that High Imperial One, Shang-te, the most honourable and without compare. The six honoured objects were the four seasons, heat and cold, the sun, moon, and stars, with drought and inundation. The hills and rivers were the famous hills and great rivers of the empire; and the host of Shins were the (spirits presiding over) mounds and banks, with the (manes of) ancient sages, &c. The paraphrast calls them 人鬼 jin kwei, the manes of men. Morrison in his Dictionary, Part I, vol. I, page 804, has given a translation of the above passage, in which he says, that "the 神 Shins or gods in this passage, denote a sort of spirits, like the Roman genii, or Greek demons."

There was also a sacrifice called the 燔柴 Fan-tsaë, burnt offering, which in the Le-ke, vol. 8, page 28, is said to be offered on the great altar, to Heaven alone. In the Chow-le, vol. 6, page 59, this burnt offering is said to be presented to Shang-te.

Another sacrifice is called the 大旅 Ta-leu, great offering, which in the Chow-le, section 2, page 33, the king is said to present to Shang-te, on the round hillock, where the border sacrifice was offered; the Commentator says, that the great offering was an unusual sacrifice presented to Heaven, when the nation was involved in calamity, and there was especial need of such service; he adds that it was peculiar to Shang-te.

When Këang-yuen, the lady already referred to in the 生民 Säng-min section of the Book of Odes, presented sacrifices to Shang-te, and was accepted by him, a commentator remarks, that "there was no visible object contemplated, but it was offered up to the Lord and Governor of high Heaven."* Choo-foo-tsze, in his writings, says, that Shang-te is not to be confounded with the images invented by the Taou sect.

* It is observable that the Confucians never made any image or representation of Shang-te, and it was left for the Taouists to represent their 玉皇上帝 Yüh hwang Shang-te under the human form.

To recur again to the various kinds of services mentioned above, we may observe, that the 郊 keaou, border sacrifice, the 類 luy, corresponding sacrifice, the 燔柴 fan tsae, burnt offering, and the 大旅 ta leu, great offering, were all considered as peculiar to Heaven, Shang-te or Te; and were offered to him, not in his capacity of a Shin, or spiritual being, but in respect to his being 天 t'hëen, the Supreme Divinity, in the estimation of the Chinese. The Imperial ancestors also were associated in the sacrifice, only on the ground of their being Tes, and not Shins. The directors of the sun, moon, and stars, with the clouds, winds, and rain, who were mere Shins, were ranked among the attendant spirits on a lower story of the altar, and received a little subordinate homage from the officers, when the sacrifice to Te was concluded; but the principal being or beings sacrificed to, and the beings for whose honour the whole service was especially intended, was Te, or Shang-te, and the Tes of the Imperial house.

On occasion of these solemnities a part of the service was performed for the honour of certain separate beings called T'hëen-shin, and Te-k'he, but the principal sacrifice was by no means intended for them, and the homage paid to them was only of a subordinate and inferior kind. The Shins therefore, as such, are not honoured with the highest act of worship, and that highest act of worship is accorded to Shang-te or the Tes of the Imperial house.

VIII. Shin is viewed as an adjunct of, or something belonging to, Te or Shang-te, when the principal sacrifice is offered.

In the 生民 Säng-min section of the Book of Odes, Shang-te when sacrificed to is said to smell a sweet savour; upon which the paraphrast remarks, that "Shang-te's Shin, or spirit, approvingly comes down to enjoy it."

In the ritual of the present dynasty, extracted from the 大清會典 Ta tsing hwuy t'een, the Shin of Te, or the Shin of Shang-te comes down when the music is played up, and the incense offered, at the border sacrifice; his Shin or spirit is also said to retire when the sacrifice is concluded. At the services performed in honour of the earth, imperial earth is said to have a 祇 k'he, (called also a Shin,) or spirit, which is greeted and escorted on its approach and departure as above. At the sacrifice offered to the Imperial ancestors, their Shins or spirits, are met on their approach, and escorted on their departure, as on the occasions above alluded to. All of the above Shins are in the Chinese ritu-

al, elevated three characters above the line, or printed in full capitals, in consequence of the rank of the beings to whom they are supposed to belong, which is thought to be superior to that of the emperor.* We read also in the same ritual of the Shins or spirits of the 社稷 Shay-tseih, tutelary spirits of the land and grain, which are met and escorted in the same manner as before, only in their case the Shins or spirits belonging to them are elevated only two characters above the line, or printed in small capitals. The sun and moon are also said to have their Shins, which are met and escorted with secondary honours. In like manner, the kings of former dynasties, Confucius, &c. have their Shins, which are all put on a par with those just mentioned. There are likewise the Shins, or spirits, of the inventor of husbandry, and the inventor of the silk-cultivation, which come and go in like manner. In the ritual for the worship of the 天神 t'heen shins, spirits who preside over the clouds, rain, wind, and thunder, their spirits are met and escorted with secondary honours, as the spirits of the other beings associated in the service. In this case the word Shin is employed for a number of separate and distinct incorporeal beings, and for the spirits or intelligent part of those beings. In both instances however, it is fully represented in English by our word spirit, which means both an immaterial intelligent being, and the spiritual energies of an intelligent and immaterial being.

Further, speaking of the 地祇 te k'he, or the spirits presiding over various mountains and rivers, we read of the 祇 k'he, spirits of those beings. Likewise in the sacrifices offered to the mountains, we read of the 神 shin, spirits of those mountains, which approach and recede at the time of sacri-

* It is observable that when the combined phrase 帝神 Te shin, the spirit of Te, occurs in the ritual of the present dynasty, the character 帝 Te is always raised above 神 Shin, shewing that the Te is the most important word of the two, and that the Shin, or spirit, belongs to Te. In another combined phrase, occurring in the same ritual, viz. 神位 Shin wei, the shrine of the spirit, "spirit" is raised above "shrine," shewing that "spirit" is the most important word of the two, and that the "shrine" belongs to it. Should any object, that Shin, or spirit, in the case just cited, being raised three characters above the line, shews that it is equally dignified with Te, which is thus raised; we reply, that it is only when the spirit belongs to Te that it is thus elevated; but when the spirit or spiritual shrine is applied to any other being, it then sinks lower in the scale of distinction, according to the rank of the being to whom it belongs.

fice. So of the Shin or spirit who presides over the year, who is met and escorted as the others. All the above Shins are elevated two characters above the line, and put on a level with the Emperor.

Among the sacrifices of the third class, we meet with the presiding spirit over the north star, and fire, who have Shins like the others; the spirits presiding over the land and grain, and the spiritual guardians of the several cities, have also their Shins. Likewise Kwan-te, the god of war, a deity of recent creation, has his Shin, which is met and escorted at the period of sacrifice, in the same way as the others; all the Shins belonging to the persons worshipped under this head, are raised only one character above the line; from all which we perceive, that the Shins or spirits of various individuals or objects, rise or fall, in the estimation of the Chinese, in proportion to the dignity of those to whom they belong. From the whole strain of the above ritual, we gather the idea that Shin is frequently said to belong to certain objects or beings, and that it is high or low, superior or inferior, according to the object or being with which it is connected, and in which it is inherent. Further, it would appear, that the Chinese, in worshipping, regard principally the object or being worshipped, and not the Shin which belongs to that being; hence the worship is high or low, important or unimportant, according to the dignity of the object or being worshipped. Thus the Shin of Shang-te or Te is greeted with the highest honours, not because it is a Shin, but because it belongs to Shang-te; the Shins of the spirits presiding over the land and grain, are treated with secondary honours, because they belong to beings of a secondary class; in like manner, the Shin of the spirit presiding over fire is welcomed only with tertiary honours, because it belongs to a being still lower in rank than either of the former, in the estimation of the Chinese. Thus, the being contemplated in the service, whoever he be, is, to use a Chinese mode of expression formerly illustrated, the 體 t'he, substance or essence, while the Shin is the 用 yung, use, or acting out of that being. Inasmuch, therefore, as the yung, or attribute rises or falls in proportion to the t'he, or substance, so does the Shin with regard to those to whom it belongs. If the substance be large, the attribute also is large, and if the substance be small, the attribute is likewise small.

This the Chinese illustrate by an umbrella, as compared with the canopy of heaven; they are both coverings; but as they differ in their substance, so also in their use; where the substance is large it may cover a whole world, and where

the substance is small it covers only a single individual : but whether the effects produced be large or small, they all depend on the source from which they emanate. Thus the Shin, when viewed as an adjunct of a being, is highly honoured, or treated with comparative neglect, not according to its own inherent value, but according to the dignity of the being with whom it is connected : we have already set forth this idea, under the first section of the present essay, when treating of Te being the 體 the substance of Shin, and Shin the 用 yung, use of Te : the former alluding to the original essence, and the latter to the acting out and display of the same. The word Shin, therefore, when considered as the adjunct of a being, is to be looked upon as dependent on that being. Te, on the other hand, is an independent term, complete in itself, and is never used for the adjunct of a being ; but whether referring to the Supreme, or an inferior deity, it represents a separate and entire existence, possessing a Shin, which it embodies, and of whose being it is the essence.

Seeing then that the word Shin, in the instances above quoted, is to be taken as the adjunct of various persons or beings worshipped by the Chinese, it becomes important to ascertain its meaning in such connection. It has been suggested that Shin ought in these instances to be translated Divinity, and that we must understand, " Te Shin " in the sense of " the divinity of the ruler : " but the Chinese ritual says, that the Shin of Te is greeted on its approach, when the burnt sacrifice ascends, and is escorted on its return, when the service is completed ; while the paraphrast on the Book of Odes, above quoted, says that the Shin of Shang-te approvingly comes down to enjoy the sacrifice. If the word Shin is to be translated divinity in the abstract, which Webster says, means " the state of being divine, deity, godhead, the nature or essence of God," we must understand that the state of being divine; or the deity, or godhead of Te or Shang-te approaches and recedes, on the occasion of the state sacrifices ; or that the nature and essence of God approvingly comes down and enjoys the service. But can motions and emotions be predicated of divinity, considered in the abstract ? what idea is to be attached to the phrase the nature or essence of God approaching or enjoying any thing ? what sense will these terms in such connection make ? On the other hand, supposing we translate Shin by spirit, the meaning will be clear, easy, and natural. When the burnt offering ascends, the spirit of Te approaches, and when the service is concluded, his spirit retires. So when the fragrance ascends upwards, the spirit of Shang-te perceives

and approves the same. On asking the Chinese what they understand by the Shin of Shang-te, they invariably reply, that it is his 靈 liang, or his 氣 k'he, (both which terms in such connection mean spirit): while they do not seem to have any idea of divinity in the abstract, as intended by the expression. Were they asked, whether by 帝之神 Te che Shin, the Shin of Te, we are to understand 帝之性 Te che sing, the nature of Te. or 帝之體 Te che t'he, the substance of Te, they would assuredly reply in the negative; and tell us further, that Shin is the 用 yung, acting out, and not the 體 t'he, substance or essence of Te. And if a Chinese were acquainted with the English language, as well as his own, he most certainly would not render 神 Shin, in this connection, by anything that means nature or essence, but by some term analogous to our word spirit. Still further from their thoughts would be the idea that it means anything like divinity here. In English we, say, God is a spirit, and yet we talk of the spirit of God or the spirit of one who is a spiritual being; so also the Chinese are accustomed to say that Te is a Shin or spirit, and yet they speak of the Shin or spirit of Te. While, however, we may talk of the spirit of a spiritual being, coming and going, approving or enjoying anything, we could not with propriety ascribe motion or emotion to the divinity of a divine being, in the same way. The Holy Ghost is a divine person, and it is usual to speak of the divinity of the Holy Ghost; but it would not be proper to talk of the divinity of the Holy Spirit coming or going, approving or enjoying anything. The Holy Spirit may be said to approach or be taken from us, but not his divinity: the persons of the Sacred Three may be said to approve or disapprove of our services, but certainly not their divinity; on the other hand, it would not be improper to speak of the spirit of the Father or of the Son, approving or disapproving of our services; or of the influences of the Holy Spirit drawing near or departing from us.

But it is with reference to the Shin of Wān-wang, that we perceive more manifestly the real meaning of the term. In the Book of Odes, Wān-wang is said to be in the realms above, shining brightly in Heaven, while he ascended and descended in the presence of Te. Now the commentator tells us, that Wān-wang was dead at the time, and that his Shin was in the realms above, perpetually waiting in the presence of Te. Choo-foo-tsze, as we have seen, refers to this circumstance, when treating of the soul of man after death; by the Shin of Wān-wang, therefore, we must under-

stand his disembodied spirit ; it could not be his god, for that, whether before or after death, could not be himself ; as the writer says, "Behold Wān-wang in the realms above." Neither could it be his divinity, abstractedly considered ; for an abstract quality cannot be said to ascend and descend, nor to wait in the presence of another. It must then have been his spirit that was spoken of in the passage above quoted, as belonging to Wān-wang. In like manner we must suppose, that the Shin of Te refers to the spirit, and not to the divinity of Te.

We may remark further, that the ritual above alluded to speaks of the Shins of the *T'hēen shins*, as coming and going, in like manner as the Shin of Te. If however, (as we have seen.) Shin, when spoken of as the adjunct of a being, means the spirit of that being, then it follows, that the same word, when used with reference to an invisible and incorporeal being, must mean spirit likewise. The 天神 *T'hēen shin* are supposed to be the directors of the winds, clouds, &c. such as the angels, or spiritual intelligences, of which western writers have spoken : or something like those ministering spirits, to which the Scriptures allude. The Shins of those *T'hēen shins* are the spirits, or spiritual energies of those spiritual existences ; and thus the word Shin can be understood in the double sense of "immaterial, intelligent substances," and of the "intelligent or energetic part" of those beings : in which we see how exactly it corresponds with the term spirit in our language, which means both a separate individual spiritual being, and the spirit belonging to that being. Thus no alteration need be made in the rendering of the term, whichever idea is intended, but spirit in either case will do.

It will be evident from the above, that if there be a Shin or spirit belonging to Te, then Te in the instance above referred to must be a real existence, a being possessing a spirit or spiritual energy, and not a mere title, or name of office. He exists, he acts, he has attributes and adjuncts, and is therefore a real being. In the state ritual above referred to, the principal being for whom the main act of worship is intended is Te or Shang-te ; while the Shin spoken of in the same connection is an adjunct of Te. Shin therefore, in the instance above referred to, is not God, nor divinity ; while Te or Shang-te, associated with the Imperial ancestors who are Tes, constitute the Gods whom the Chinese supremely adore. Let it be remembered, also, what is the instance referred to. The emperor, who is the high priest of the nation, is offering up the celestial sacrifice to the Supreme objects of adoration, when in fact the principal act of the religion of

China is being performed. If in this act, Shin is only regarded as an adjunct of a being, while others who possess these Shins are the beings worshipped with the highest reverence, it is plain, that the latter and not the former are to be regarded as Gods in the estimation of the worshippers. When a being is spoken of as sacrificed to, who possesses an adjunct, it is the being and not the adjunct, who is the object of worship. This being is Te, or Shang-te, connected with the Imperial ancestors ; and at the period of the celestial sacrifice, these are the principal objects of adoration ; they are adored by the highest official character, their shrines are elevated on the highest altar, the prostrations made before them are the most humiliating, and the offerings presented to them the most costly. In all that is done on the solemn occasion, there is no reference to a separate and distinct being called Shin, as the supreme object of worship, while the mere spirits called T'heên Shins, are regarded with secondary honours, and only put on a level with the Emperor ; Shin is therefore not equivalent to God, in the estimation of the Chinese, while Te is.

IX. Shang-te or Te is used for others besides the Supreme.

From the quotations made from the Shoo-king and other classics, it would seem that Shang-te or Te, with reference to the invisible world, is used for the Supreme Being, as far as the Chinese were acquainted with him. If these terms were employed in such acceptation alone, they would not be suited to our purpose, as we want to find, if possible, some term that is applicable to the Supreme as well as inferior divinities, in the estimation of the Chinese, in order that we may employ it generically for God. On further enquiry, we shall find that both Shang-te and Te are thus used, by writers belonging to the various sects of religion in China.

In the Chow-le, vol. 3, page 9, speaking of men's sacrificing to Shang-te, on occasion of great national calamities, the commentator says, that "Shang-te here refers to the five Tes, because when the people prayed for wind, and rain, cold or heat, it was more than what one Te could have procured for them, and therefore they prayed to the whole five."

In the 孝經 Heaou-king, sect. 5, page 2, we read that when Chow-kung offered the border sacrifice to Heaven, he honoured How-tsêh, his first ancestor, as the assistant in the sacrifice ; and when he offered the ancestral sacrifice to the Shang-tes, he honoured his immediate progenitor, Wân-wang, as associate in the sacrifice." Upon which the commentator says, that "these Shang-tes were the five Tes of the

different quarters, whose names were Ling-wei-gang, &c."

In the Chow-le, vol. 3, page 7, speaking of the ceremonies offered at the various seasons, a commentator remarks, that "when the ancients went to welcome the approaching seasons, at the four borders of the country, they invited the five celestial Tes (which are supposed to preside over the five elements); at which time the five 人帝 jin te, human Tes, (Füh-he. Shin-nung, &c.) and the five 人神 jin shin, human spirits (Kow-mang, and such like), were associated in the sacrifice." These latter were looked upon as the hosts or entertainers at the sacrificial feast, without whose hospitable attentions, the celestial Tes, it was thought, would have been unwilling to remain.

In the same work, vol. 3, page 23, the king is said to have "put on certain robes of ceremony, when he sacrificed to the Shang-te of the glorious heavens, which were also used when sacrificing to the five Tes."

According to the 廣博物志 Kwang pō wū che, sect. 38, when the Emperor sacrificed to the Shang-te of the glorious heavens, he wore an azure robe; when he sacrificed to the Shang-te of the eastern quarter, he wore a green robe; when to the Shang-te of the southern quarter, he wore a red robe; when to the Shang-te of the middle region, he wore a yellow robe; when to the Shang-te of the western region, a white robe; and when to the Shang-te of the northern region, a black robe." From the above it would appear, that the Shang-tes of the five quarters, which were probably the five Tes who presided over the elements, were looked upon as distinct from the Shang-te of the glorious heavens; and yet they were severally called Shang-te.

In the 古文眉銓 Koo wān mei tseuen, Han-kaou-tsoo is said to have met with four temples, each dedicated to a different Shang-te, who were the azure, white, red, and yellow Tes, to which he added a fifth, viz. the black Te.

Visdelou remarks, that "to each of the five Tes, that were supposed to preside over the various quarters and seasons, the name of Shang-te was given, and various colours assigned them; hence the Chinese talk of the green, red, white, black, and yellow Shang-tes."

In the Chow-le, vol. 1, page 33, the king, after sacrificing to Shang-te, is said to have looked towards the sun, and sacrificed to the five Tes, whose names are given by the Commentator, as Ling-wei-gang, &c.

In the same work, vol. 3, page 10, we have a dissertation regarding the five Tes. One says, that the five Tes were called Ling-wei-gang, with four others. (See a subsequent page.)

Another asserts, that they were the same as the five ancient sovereigns, Füh-he, Shin-nung, Hwang-te, Yaou, and Shun. A third asks, if the Five Tes be the same as the five ancient sovereigns just mentioned, then before those sovereigns existed who managed the seasons? Another thinks, that the five Tes were synonymous with 天 t'hëen, Heaven, or the Divinity; which is again controverted by one Ma, who says, "If you consider the five Tes as synonymous with Heaven, then why do you make five of them? and why, after having sacrificed to Shang-te, did the king offer a separate sacrifice to the five Tes?" In his opinion, "the five Tes are the superintendants of the five elements in Heaven, just as the five mountains are the guardians of the five regions on earth. The five Tes are not to be considered as separated from the region of heaven, and yet you cannot say, that they are the same as August Heaven; just as the five mountains cannot be considered as detached from the earth, and yet it would be improper to say, that they are synonymous with Imperial Earth."

According to the regulations of the Chow dynasty, "the ceremonies observed in sacrificing to the five Tes, were the same as those observed in sacrificing to Heaven, in order to denote their elevation; but they differed in some respects from those presented to Heaven, in order to mark the distinction between them. Thus in sacrificing both to Heaven and the five Tes, certain ceremonial robes were employed, in which respect, they were viewed as resembling each other; but the sacrifice to Heaven was offered at the round hillock, and that to the five Tes, at the various borders, in order to mark the difference between them." Thus it appears, that differences of opinion existed among the commentators regarding these five Tes; some placing them too low, and considering them as synchronous with the five ancient sovereigns of China; and others ranking them too high, and accounting them to be synonymous with Heaven; but these opinions, however, seem to give way before the presumption that they were the managers of the five elements, which accords with the sentiments of Confucius and Kang-he, as we have already seen. They must have been, therefore, in the estimation of the Chinese, real and distinct beings, both from their having been distinguished by separate names. (which Confucius asserts in his Family Sayings), and from their having been distributed among the various seasons, apportioned to the several quarters of the heavens, and distinguished by the five colours. They were also worshipped at the borders of the country in the open air, at different

periods of the year, and joined together in the services performed in the illustrious hall, when the Imperial ancestors were associated with them. They were even called Shang-tes, a name which is generally appropriated to the Supreme in the estimation of the Chinese. and the Emperor sacrificed to them in the same robes of ceremony, in which he presented offerings to the Shang-te of the glorious heavens ; from all which we conclude, that they were a class of beings, honoured with religious worship. and next only to the Supreme. according to Chinese ideas.

In later times, the sacrifices to the five Tes have been omitted, on account of the propensity displayed by the Chinese to ascribe the rule of the different dynasties to the influence of the various metals, which were severally presided over by the Tes of the five colours : and thus supposing different metals and colours to be in the ascendant, at certain periods, turbulent and factious persons set up new emperors and dynasties, to the great prejudice of existing governments ; hence the worship of the five Tes was put down for state reasons, and is not alluded to in the ritual of the present dynasty. See a curious account of this theory in an essay by M. Visdelou, appended to De Guignes' Chou-king. That author adds, that " besides the Supreme Shang-te, who presides over all heaven, there are other five Shang-tes, who preside separately over the five regions of heaven, the five seasons of the year, and the five elements ; thus dividing the burthen of the Supreme Shang-te. These five Shang-tes are called 天帝 T'hëen-te, celestial Tes ; and that they may not sink under the weight of their responsibilities, the Chinese have given them five 人帝 jin-te, human Tes as assistants, viz. five of the ancient emperors of China. To these five human Tes, they have assigned five ministers or prefects. The sacrifices to the five Shang-tes were scrupulously offered, and continued by all the dynasties; down to that of Ming, (A. D. 1369) but were then entirely suppressed."

It is probably on this account, that in the collection of Odes and Essays published by the emperors of the present dynasty, the 青帝 Tsing te, Green Te, the 白帝 Pih te, White Te, &c. are in no case capitalized : while an instance occurs in which the name of the Emperor is elevated two characters above the line, and that of one of the five Tes mentioned in the same sentence is not capitalized at all ; shewing that though the five Tes were anciently regarded as gods, yet the worship of them having been discontinued for state reasons, they are now considered as inferior to the reigning Emperor.

The Taoist opinion of the Five Tes corresponds in a great measure with that of the Confucian school

In the **廣博物志** Kwān pō wǐh che, sect. 5, we have the names of the Five Tes as above given, and their residences described, while they are said to preside over the five elements. In the 12th section, they say, that the Five Tes appeared to Shūn, and predicted the time of his ascent to Heaven: after which they came and escorted him in open day to the skies. In a subsequent section, the Five Tes are represented as ascending their chariots, followed by a host of officers, who with themselves were subject to the authority of a certain **大帝** Ta Te, Great Te, who was again inferior to Laou-keun, the founder of the Tao sect. In the same sentence, affairs are said to be all under the cognizance of Shang-te, who dwells in the **帝庭** Te t'ing, court of the Supreme. In the 25th section, speaking of the human body, the navel is described as the pivot of the five viscera, in the midst of which the five Tes preside. In the same work the different Tes are spoken of separately, and various acts and attributes are ascribed to them. In the 26th sect. the ancient emperor **炎帝** Yen-te is said to be the present **北帝** Pih Te of the northern region, and superintendent of all the Kwei Shins throughout the world. In the 38th sect. the **赤帝** ts'ih Te, Red Te, belonging to the southern quarter, is said to have had a daughter, who studied the principles of Tao, that she might become a fairy. Her dwelling was on the top of a mulberry tree, where she made herself a nest, sometimes appearing as a white sparrow, and sometimes as a young female. The Red Te wished her to come down, but in vain. He then drove her out of her nest by means of fire, when she flew up to heaven, and became a **帝女** te nyu, goddess. From which we perceive that the Taoists considered the five Tes, not only as actual beings, but as having children, which, however, they could not control; as was the case also with the fabled gods of Grecian mythology.

The Taoists not only believed in the Five Tes, spoken of by the Confucian sect, but in a variety of Tes, great and small, who must all be considered in the light of gods, according to their creed. First they had their **玉皇上帝** Yūh hwang Shang-te, perfect imperial Shang-te, whom they considered as Supreme in Heaven and earth; his title runs thus; "the perfectly imperial great celestial Te, who at the extreme beginning opened out heaven, and who has ever since regulated the various kulpas, **含真** han chin, possessing

divinity, 體道 t'he taou, and embodying reason, the most honourable in the glorious heavens," (see the 三教全書 San keaou tseuen shoo.) This 玉帝 Yü-h-te is said in the 太上感應篇 T'hae-shang kan yin p'een, to have issued his orders to 玄帝 Heuen te, to take command of the 天神 T'h'een Shin, celestial spirits, and 天將 t'h'een ts'ang, celestial generals, and to go round and inspect all in heaven above and earth below, examining into the merits and demerits of men and 神 shin, spirits, and sending up a monthly report. When the 神 shin, spirits, performed meritorious actions, he was to report, but when the spirits transgressed he was to degrade them into 鬼 kwei, evil genii; while the evil genii on transgressing were to be cut asunder and annihilated.

In the 廣博物志 Kwang p'ö wü ch'eh, the Taouists say, that in each quarter of the celestial region, east, west, north, and south, there are eight 天 t'h'eens, or divinities, making 32 in all, each of whom has the word 天帝 t'h'een te, celestial Te attached to his name. In the 2nd section, we have a description of the flower of immortality, one taste of which confers on a person 真 chin, divinity, equally with 玉帝 Yü-h te. It is also said, that in the star where Yü-h-te resides, there is a purple-coloured pearly gallery, inhabited by three canonized immortal beings, in which gallery is 帝 席 te seih, the table of the gods. In the 12th section, Laou-keun, the founder of the Taou sect, is introduced as saying, that 元始天尊 Yuen che t'h'een tsun, the first original honoured one of heaven, observing Laou-keun's merit, conferred on him the title of 太上 T'hae shang, the great Supreme, and appointed him to be the celestial Te of the pearly altar. A little further on, he speaks of having been constituted a Te, under the name of 老帝君 Laou te'keun. He is also called in the same chapter 太上天帝 t'hae shang t'h'een te, the great supreme celestial Te. Further on, the great Tes are spoken of, as in some respects synonymous with the 仙 s'een, immortals. In the 14th section, the 神 shins of various hills are represented under the most uncouth forms, and are also called the Tes of the said hills; shewing that the word Te is used by the Taouists for the genii of hills and rivers. A little further on, we read of the lawn of Te, on a certain hill, with a fairy-like 神 Shin to guard it;

while the capital of Te is also said to have a Shin to guard it. In the 5th section, under the head of geography, the writer gives a fanciful description of the Himalaya mountains, the ascent of which will ensure immortality. Above this region is the 上天 shang t'heen, high heaven, which is called, the residence of 大帝 Ta Te, the Great Te. The writer then goes on to describe a tree, which, planted on earth, mounts up to heaven, and affords a medium of communication, by means of which the 衆帝 chung te, multitude of Tes, ascend and descend. A similar expression occurs in the Odes of Soo, sect. 25, who says, that an emperor at his death mounted the fleecy clouds, and soared away with the host of Tes, upon prancing dragons. In the 20th section, various famous men of antiquity are alluded to as the officers of different Tes, in the world of spirits: one is said to be the 鬼帝 kwei te, the Te presiding over evil spirits in the northern region, and another over the evil spirits in the middle region. Thus we see, that according to the Taou system, a number of spiritual beings are called Tes, from the Yü hwang Shang-te, and Laou-keun, down to the multitude of Tes who run up and down heaven's ladder, and the tribe of Tes who are in some respects synonymous with the 仙 sēn, immortals, and who, in the Chinese estimation, hold no office at all. Thus the word is employed without reference to authority, and is not a name of office, but one descriptive of the state and condition of a class of beings.

With regard to the views entertained by the Buddhist sect, we have distinct evidence of their using Te in the sense of a divine spiritual being.

In the 法寶標目 Fā paou p'heaou mūh, section 16, page 32, Buddha, under the name of Shih-kēa-mun-i, is called 帝釋 Tē shih, the God Shih, who does not deign to stoop before the honoured of heaven.

In the 成道記 Ching taou ke, the same phrase, Te Shih, occurs very frequently, with reference to Buddha.

In the Imperial Essays, section 19, page 11, we have the copy of an inscription attached by Kēen-lung to a Buddhist temple, in which he speaks of 帝釋 Tē Shih, the God Shih dwelling in the middle heavens; shewing that the application of the word Te to Buddha is sanctioned by Imperial authority.

In the 廣博物志 Kwang pō wūh che, section 1, we have a description of the heaven of Buddha, in which, after depicting the celestial city, which is said to be built of gold,

and garnished with pearls, the writer proceeds to describe the residence of the houris, whose number amounts to millions, and who are all the wives of 帝釋 *Te Shih*. In the 37th section, the same person is called 天帝釋 *T'heñ te shih*, the celestial *Te Shih*. It appears that, according to the Buddhist system, Sakya was the family name of Buddha, who after his death, is supposed to have been deified. The word *Te*, prefixed to his name, most probably refers to his absorption into the Deity; as neither before his death, nor after it, do we ever read of his having been invested with any authority, either in heaven or on earth.* It is to his divinity, therefore, and not to his supremacy alone, that the word *Te* refers, shewing that the term is to be understood as indicative of condition as much as authority.

One of the most celebrated deified persons among the Chinese, and one who is honoured by all the sects, is 關帝 *Kwan-te*, called also 武帝 *Woo-te*, the god of war. He was a hero, who flourished in the time of the three kingdoms, (A. D. 260) and was celebrated both for his great bravery and his tried fidelity. His righteousness and benevolence were said to have equalled Heaven, and to have assimilated him to the Divinity; and being supposed to have come to the succour of the reigning family at different periods, he has been elevated to the rank of a god, and worshipped accordingly. In a popular work, treating of this hero, in 8 volumes, we have an account of his life and death, as well as of his subsequent apotheosis, which is said to have taken place in the Ming dynasty, when 祭始稱帝 *tse che ch'ling te*, he was sacrificed to, and first called a *Te*. In the present dynasty, he was designated a 大帝 *Ta te*, great God, and his tablet ordered to be set up in every temple, throughout the empire: in consequence of which we find the shrine of *Kwan-te*, almost always erected in temples dedicated to the honour of Buddha, though he had no connection with that sect of religion.

We subjoin a list of the different beings, who are worshipped as *Tes* by the various sects in China.

1. By the sect of the Confucians.

帝 *Te*, who is spoken of, and honoured as the Supreme;

* Ward, in his mythology of the Hindoos, says, that when a man by religious merit attains to the rank of a superior deity, he is not regarded as the Governor of the world. Buddha is considered as such a deity, and therefore his elevation is to be looked on as a deification, without any reference to rule.

this word is used in all the ancient classics repeatedly in the sense of God, as to what he is and does, in the production, government, and guidance of all things; while the highest act of worship is addressed to him. This being is variously called **天** t'heen, Heaven, in the sense of Providence, and **上帝** Shang-te, with reference to his supremacy over all; also **昊天上帝** Haou t'heen Shang-te, the Shang-te of the glorious heavens, and **皇天上帝** Hwang t'heen Shang-te, the Shang-te of Imperial Heaven.

五帝 Woo te, the five Tes, who are the **蒼帝** Tsang te, the Green Te, called **靈威仰** Ling-wei-gang; the **赤帝** Tseih te, Red Te, called **赤熛怒** Tseih-p'heaou-noo; the **黃帝** Hwang te, Yellow Te, called **含樞紐** Shay-keu-new; the **白帝** Pih te, White Te, called **白招拒** Pih-chaou-keu, and the **黑帝** Hih te, Black Te, called **叶光紀** Heih-kwang-ke.

文帝 Wăn te, or **文章帝君** Wăn chang te keun, the god of letters, who is supposed to have gone through 17 transmigrations, as a high mandarin; he is generally worshipped by the literati and his image is set up in the temples adjoining those dedicated to Confucius.

武帝 Woo-te, or **關帝** Kwan-te, the god of war, already alluded to.

2. By the sect of Tao.

玉皇上帝 Yüh hwang Shang-te, the Perfect Imperial Shang-te, the most honourable in Heaven. (Morrison.) The king of Heaven, (De Guignes.) Also called the **玉皇大帝** Yüh hwang ta te, Perfect Imperial great Te.

三元大帝 San yuen ta te, the three-fold original Great Te.

三樞大帝 San keu ta te, the Great Te who is the three-fold hinge of nature.

三官大帝 San kwan ta te, the triple ruler, the Great Te.

元天上帝 Yuen t'heen Shang-te, the originally celestial Shang-te.

雷祖大帝 Luy tsoo ta te, the god of thunder.

玄天上帝 Heuen t'heen Shang-te, the Shang-te of the sombre heavens; also called **玄天大帝** Heuen t'heen ta te, the great Te of the sombre heavens; who is the same with **北帝** Pih te, the god of the north.

by Gesenius to be a primitive word, presenting the idea of strength and power, from which is derived *Alah* (Hebrew), to invoke God, and *Alah* (Arab) to worship God, and ultimately *Elohim* in the one language, and *Allah* in the other, the principal generic names for God in those languages. Even our own word God, in English, is by Dr. Henderson, in his edition of Buck's Theological Dictionary, said to be derived from the Icelandic *Góti*, which signifies the Supreme Magistrate, and is thus strikingly characteristic of Jehovah, as the moral Governor of the universe.

We have already quoted the Chinese Imperial Dictionary, (the best authority for the signification of words that we are acquainted with) which makes *Te* to be one of the names of Heaven, or the Divinity, and says that it is applied to human rulers, only as they may be supposed to imitate Heaven in virtue. *Shang-te*, he also tells us, is Heaven, or the Divinity; and the Five *Tes* are the names of five spiritual beings sometimes called *Shang-tes*, who have charge over the elements. It would appear from *Kang-he*, therefore, that *Te* or *Shang-te* is used generically for God, in the Chinese language.

Another objection against *Te* is, that it simply marks the relation between the ruler and the ruled, without giving us the slightest intimation to what class of beings, whether visible or invisible, human or divine, the said ruler may belong. To this we may reply, that we have already adduced instances of the employment of the word *Te*, in which there can be no mistake about its referring to an invisible and divine being or beings. The word itself is explained by the chief Lexicographer to mean Heaven, and to be one of the names of Heaven, while only those are said by him to be rightly called *Tes*, whose virtue corresponds to that of Heaven. In all which we have no reference to the relation existing be-

5. where Gesenius has rendered *El Gibbor*, the mighty hero, which phrase most interpreters have translated "the mighty God." As this is one of the passages brought forward in proof of our Lord's Divinity, much importance is attached to it; and the maintainers of the orthodox creed would be very sorry to see it deprived of its force. But on the theory that the original meaning of a word must be always retained, and that the secondary signification may only be referred to when the exigency of the case requires it, no doubt we should have to surrender this text into the hands of the Unitarians; and even that other passage, Isa. 7: 14. would have to be given up likewise, had not an inspired writer explained it to mean, "Immanuel, God with us." We infer therefore that no rule can be laid down for the interpretation of terms, which are used in various senses, by ascertaining which is the primary meaning. We must ascertain what standard writers mean by its use, and translate accordingly.

tween the ruler and the ruled. The same author says, that Te is one who judges justly, and because Heaven, or the Divinity, judges impartially and universally, therefore that being is called Te; while human rulers, on account of their imitating Heaven in this respect, are called Te's; here the reference is to moral qualities, and not to power or authority.

That Te conveys the idea of relationship in a certain sense, is no argument against its being used generically for God; for Horsley thinks, that "the word *Elohim* is expressive of relation; not, however, of a relationship between equals, but of a relationship between a superior and inferiors. The superior is evidently the most absolute, the dependance on the side of the other party, the most complete and entire." The quotations from the Chinese classics, above made, abundantly shew that such a relationship exists between Te or Shang-te, and those who adore him. The moulding and framing of things, as the potter does the clay, together with the producing and completing of the myriad of things, which are ascribed to Te, refer to the relationship that subsists between the former and the formed, and not between the ruler and the ruled. All things getting their forms completed from Te, as men get their forms completed from their parents; and all men's coming originally from Heaven, as children do from their parents, refer to the relationship that exists between the progenitor and the offspring, more than to that which obtains between a king and his subjects. The being the first of all existences, is not the characteristic of one who is simply a ruler. The causing things to issue forth in spring, or the making of the energies of nature to bud and move, is rather the work of a God, than of a governor. But especially the conferring of a virtuous nature on mankind, resulting in sincere and reverential thoughts, is not the work of any ruler, but one, who in performing such acts, displays more the attributes of a divine than of a human benefactor. When Te is said to lead and influence men's minds, in every action and passion of their daily avocations, there is certainly a distinct reference to an invisible superintendant of human affairs, because these are results which no visible agent could produce. So, when Te is said to know all things, to perceive our reverence in worship, or detect the smallest degree of insincerity; when he controuls the heart, looks on men's feelings, and sees them more clearly than in the brightest mirror; the reference is most assuredly to a spiritual and omniscient being; while the spirits of the just being represented as ascending and descending in the presence of Te, proves that in these passages the writers had no reference to any ruler of the present world, but to him who decides the

destinies of the world to come. It is true, the Chinese in the above connections make use of a term which means also a ruler, but they employ it in a different sense from that in which the word ruler is generally understood, and shew that they intend by it a higher relationship than that which exists between rulers and their subjects generally.

Again, other spiritual and imaginary divine beings are spoken of as *Te*s, besides the Supreme, in the estimation of the Chinese; in whose case the word is not indicative of the relationship existing between the rulers and the ruled. Thus the deceased hero 關羽 Kwan-yu, is called a *Te*; but he is not said to rule over any thing, nor is any portion of mankind supposed to be subject to his sway; it was merely on account of his fidelity and righteousness that he was deified; and that no authority was thereby conferred upon him is evident, from his being considered as inferior to a living emperor, and being only worshipped by subordinate officers. The god Sakya is not looked upon as the governor of the world, though called *Te-shih*; and the hosts and multitudes of *Te*s, spoken of by the Taouists, who go up and down heaven's ladder, are only a species of immortals, like 仙 *Sên*, who are not invested with any authority at all, but roam about at ease, without either charge or responsibility. In all the above instances, the use of the word *Te* does not refer to the relationship existing between the ruler and the ruled, and it is evidently employed to denote a class of divine and spiritual beings, honoured with the worship of their votaries.

It has been said, that one instance cannot be found where the word Ruler does not make sense, as the translation of *Te*: but if the passages we have quoted be carefully examined, it will appear that the word ruler would not adequately express the meaning of *Te*, in the cases referred to. It is not sufficient to say, that those who have translated these and similar passages, have used Supreme or Divine Ruler for *Te*; because the very circumstance of their adding the word Supreme or Divine, shews that they did not consider the single word Ruler sufficient to express the sense of the Chinese author. We have already quoted instances from Morrison's Dictionary, in which he renders *Te* "the Majesty of Heaven," Part 1. vol. 1. page 236; "Divine Ruler," page 329; "the Supreme Sovereign," page 495; "Supreme Ruler," page 571; "Heaven's Sovereign," page 505; "the Most High Ruler," pages 523, 866; and "the Most High," page 675. In the same page he says, that *Te* or Shang-te is expressive of the most high God; and in page 863, he renders

Te directly by "God." It is evident then, that Morrison did not think that Ruler would make sense in every instance, and that something more was necessary to express the full idea of the Chinese writer in certain passages. It is allowed, that when one meaning of a word will not make sense, we must do the writer the justice to suppose that he meant to convey some other idea by it, rather than set him down for a fool. We contend that the word Ruler alone will not adequately express the meaning of the authors in the passages cited; but that some other term is necessary in order to express the full sense; we find that according to Kang-he, the word Te is one of the names of Heaven, or the Divinity, and that it was applied (though improperly) to certain human rulers, who were supposed to imitate Heaven in virtue; when therefore we meet with cases in which the exigencies of the passage require us to translate it by a term expressive of Divinity, we are not doing violence to the language, so to translate it. We also see, that when the word Te is used with reference to a class of invisible and divine beings, it does not undergo any change of meaning, but is used in its natural sense, when translated God.

But it seems, that it cannot be denied that the word Te is used for beings called gods; only the force of the argument drawn from such use is sought to be weakened by saying, that the word *Melech* is used with reference to Jehovah in the Hebrew Scriptures; and as we should not translate *Melech* by God in the Holy writings, so we should not translate Te by God in the Chinese classics. To this we reply, that the word *Melech* is never used in the sense of God in Scripture, as Te undoubtedly is in Chinese. The Chinese ascribe to Te the acts and attributes of God, and speak of Te as forming and shaping all things, as well as conferring a virtuous nature on mankind. But the Hebrew Scriptures never speak of *Melech* as the former of all things, nor as having made man upright. Kang-he says, that Te is one of the names of Heaven, and that Shang-te is Heaven, which was the term by which they were in the habit of expressing the Divinity: but the Hebrews never said, that *Melech* was one of the names of God, nor that it meant God. The Hebrews were under a theocracy, and thus God was frequently called the king of Israel, and the king of Jacob; David also calls Jehovah, his King and his God, and Christ is the King of kings, and Lord of lords; but it is evident, that the word King is employed, in all these instances, only with reference to God, and not in the sense of God. There is not an instance in the Hebrew Scriptures, of the word *Melech* being used in the same way that Te is used to mean God in the Chinese classics. Again,

when the word *Melech* is employed with reference to God in the Scriptures it is always coupled with some other word, which defines its application: while on the other hand, *Te* is used in the Chinese classics in the sense of God, without any other term in connection to define its import, and to show that the other term means the being which this only refers to. The cases in which the word *sing* occurs in Scripture with reference to God, accompanied with another term which does mean God, are the following. 1 Sam. 12: 12. Psalm 5: 2. 11: 16. 44: 5. 29: 11. 37: 6. 44: 1 and 145: 1. Isa. 33: 22. 43: 15. Jer. 16: 16. 48: 15. 51: 57. In all of which instances it would be improper to translate the word *King* by God, because there is another word in the sentence meaning God, and stating definitely to whom the word *Melech* refers: showing that the term was not used in the sense of God, but in its proper meaning of *sing*. In the Chinese classics, on the contrary, all things are said to get their forms completed from *Tz*: *Tz* is the first of all: and sincere thoughts in man are ascribed to the virtuous nature bestowed by *Te*, with many others: in all which instances, *Tz* is used alone, as meaning the being who does those things, in which way *Melech* is never used in the Hebrew Scriptures.

It appears then, that *Te* is used for Heaven, or the Divinity, for Shang-te, or the most High God, as far as the Chinese knew him; for the five *Tes*, called also Shang-te, who presided over the elements, for Kwan-yu, the god of war, and for a variety of gods who are worshipped by the Taoist and Buddhist sects; so that we might justly consider it as generic for God in Chinese: but it is objected, that in all the above cases, the invisible being to whom the title of *Te* is given, is a ruler among the class of beings to whom he belongs, and therefore the word should be rendered ruler and not god. As well might one argue, that *El* when applied in the Hebrew Scriptures to the Divine Being, to the idols of the Gentiles, and to earthly monarchs, only means that the beings referred to are mighty ones, or heroes: and that therefore, in all the 250 instances in which *El* is used in the Hebrew Scriptures, it should be rendered hero, and not God; which would deprive us of one of the most notable appellatives for God in Scripture, and weaken the force of many arguments brought in defence of the Divinity of Christ. All translators have, however, translated *El* by God in all those instances where it is evidently used for God, and only rendered it by words indicative of might and power, where they thought it necessary; while an inspired penman has assured us, that Immanuel means, God with us.

Another objection to Te, is, that it has been used from the highest antiquity, and still is, the title given to the ruler of China. We have before shewn, however, from the Imperial Dictionary, and from the preface to the Shoo-king, that only five individuals, during all the classic age, were called Tes, on account of their supposed imitation of Heaven in virtue, and it was not until the sages were dead, and the books were burned, that Tsin-che-hwang (B. C. 203) arrogated to himself the title of 皇帝 Hwang-te, of which class, he considered himself the first, and therefore styled himself 始皇帝 Che-hwang-te, the first Hwang-te. This title of Hwang-te, however, when applied to the Emperor, in the state ritual, is always put lower down than the word Te alone, which is applied in that document solely to the Supreme in the estimation of the Chinese. It might be thought by some, that Hwang-te is a higher title than Te, because it means "Great Ruler," while they think, that Te simply means "Ruler :"; but to this we reply, that the Chinese is a language of phrases, and that when a phrase is once established by custom to signify any particular idea, it always stands for that idea, without reference to the words which may be employed to compose it ; thus Hwang-te always means Emperor, while Te alone is frequently employed in the sense of God. We may remark further, that the addition of a character to constitute a phrase in Chinese, though separately signifying something more elevated or refined, does not always add intensity to the combined phrase. Thus 精 tsing, means fine, pure, essential, and 神 Shin, as we hope to shew in the sequel, signifies spirit ; when combined therefore, they would seem to mean pure essential spirit, whereas it is well-known that the words in combination mean nothing more than the animal spirits. If, however, Shin meant God, then the two characters combined, ought to mean the pure essential Divinity. We have before observed, that the five emperors of antiquity were denominated Tes, on account of their virtues ; that the tyrant of Tsin assumed the designation of Hwang-te, which was continued by the Han dynasty. At that period, however, the practice of assigning to deceased emperors, the Meou-haou, or ancestral designation, commenced ; from which time, departed monarchs were regularly honoured with this title, when enshrined and worshipped in the ancestral temple ; and historians speaking of the kings who reigned from that dynasty downwards have called them, after their decease, Tes. But previous to the decease of an emperor, he is not spoken of in state papers as a Te ; we have looked through several volumes of Peking gazettes,

and find the terms generally applied to the Emperor, to be 皇上 Hwang-shang, 聖主 Shing-choo, or 上 Shang, but we have not met with the word Te alone, with reference to a living emperor, in documents soberly worded. It is true, that in the 表章 Peaou chang, which are adulatory addresses, or petitions, sent up to the Emperor, he is sometimes styled Hwang-te, or even Te; but it is evident, that such phrases, are used simply as compliments, in the same way as James I. is called in the preface to our Bibles, "the most High and mighty Prince," and "most dread Sovereign;" while in sober writing, no one would think of applying that title to him. The same is the case with the Chinese Emperors, in regard to Te.

With reference to the word Te being sometimes applied to a living emperor, we may observe, that 天 t'hëen is also used in the same signification; for in the 二雅 Urh-yay, vol. I. page 8, we read, that "one of the titles of the Emperor is 天 t'hëen, Heaven, or the Divinity." In Bridgman's Chrestomathy, page 558, we find the phrase 皇天 Hwang t'hëen, Imperial Heaven, which is equivalent in Chinese to the most High God, applied to the emperor. In Abel's narrative of Lord Amherst's Embassy, page 208, the edict issued after his departure, condoles with the ambassador, saying, "Your good fortune has been small, you have been unable to lift up your eyes to the face of Heaven, (i. e. the emperor.)" So also the Imperial throne is called 天位 t'hëen wei, Heaven's seat; the Imperial consideration, 天恩 t'hëen gnän, Heaven's favour, or Divine grace, (as Morrison has it;) and the Imperial family, 天眷 t'hëen keuen, Heaven's inmates; Imperial troops, 天兵 t'hëen ping, Heaven's soldiers, or the army of Heaven; the Emperor's pay is called 天祿 t'hëen lüh, the emoluments derived from Heaven; the Imperial presence, 天顏 t'hëen yen, Heaven's countenance; the Imperial dynasty, 天朝 t'hëen chaou, Heaven's court. Morrison says, that an Imperial messenger is called, rather presumptuously, 天使 t'hëen she, the messenger of Heaven. The Emperor himself, they call 天子 t'hëen tsze, Heaven's Son. Martin says, because the Chinese take Heaven, God, and the Supreme Godhead to be all one, therefore the Son of Heaven, is as much as to say, the Son of God. Not only is the Emperor called Heaven or God; he is actually worshipped during his life-time as a divinity.

The ceremony of the Kō-t'how, as it is described by Abel, page 81, is a specimen of this. "At the further end of aroom, was placed a screen, before which was a table covered with yellow cloth, and supporting a vessel of smoking incense, the whole, symbolical of the presence of his Chinese Majesty ; all around this sacred emblem, carpets were laid for the accommodation of his faithful votaries ; at a given signal, the mandarins fell on their knees, and, inclining their heads, knocked them three times against the ground, and then arose." Sir George Staunton, in his account of Macartney's Embassy, in describing the same ceremony before the Emperor's throne, speaks as follows : "The throne was ascended by steps, and above it were the Chinese characters of glory and perfection ; tripods and vessels of incense were placed on each side, and before it a small table as an altar, for placing offerings of tea and fruit to the *spirit* of the absent emperor. Among the many names given to his Imperial Majesty, he has one which corresponds in sound, as well as in written characters, with that given in China, sometimes, to the Deity : doubtless as an attribute of power, residing almost entirely in the person of the sovereign, whose dominion they consider as virtually extending over the whole world." "Believing the Majesty of the Emperor to be ubiquitary, they sacrifice to him when absent ; it cannot therefore be surprising that they should adore him when present. The adoration, or Kō-t'how, consists in nine prostrations of the body, with the forehead touching the floor, which is not only a mark of the deepest humility and submission, but implies a conviction of the omnipotence of him, towards whom this veneration is made." Again he describes "a feast which was expressly devoted for rendering solemn and devout homage to the Supreme Majesty of the Emperor. The ceremonial passed in a vast hall, in which were assembled the princes and great officers of state ; at particular signals, every person present prostrated himself nine times, except the Ambassador and his suite. He to whom this awful act of adoration was made, in imitation of the Deity, kept himself the whole time invisible." Thus also, throughout the provinces, whenever a decree is received from the Emperor, incense is burned, and the mandarins bow and prostrate themselves before a tablet inscribed with the words 萬歲爺 Wan suy yay, the Lord of ten thousand years, in proof of their devotion and allegiance. In Morrison's Dictionary, Part I, vol. I, page 589, we have the phrase 奉天命 fung t'héen ming, receiving with reverence the command of Heaven ; which Morrison says, "is used by the Chinese

emperors, to declare their divine right : and since the officers of government deem the emperor their god. (as Virgil did the Roman Emperor, *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*) they by a blasphemous adulation, apply this phrase 奉天命 *fung t'hên ming*, to the Imperial commands." In page 831, Morrison quoting the letters patent of the nobility of China, says of the Emperor, "in that his virtue equals that of Heaven and earth (the god of nature,) he is styled Hwang-te ; in that Heaven helps him, and treats him as a son, he is called the Son of Heaven ; for the Son of Heaven comes next after Heaven in ruling the universe."

Morrison has referred to the Roman Emperors, and we may here be allowed to pursue the topic a little further. These despots were not only called *Theoi*, but incense was burnt, and sacrifices offered to them during their lives, under pain of capital punishment in the event of a refusal. But after their death, the Grecian and Roman Emperors were frequently honoured with an apotheosis.

On the subject of the apotheosis, or enrolment of mortals among the gods, Dr. Smith remarks, in his Dictionary of Grecian and Roman antiquities. London 1842, "that the mythology of Greece contains numerous instances of the deification of mortals. The inhabitants of Amphipolis offered sacrifices to Brasidas after his death, (Thucyd. v. ii.) and the people of Egæste built an heroum to Phillipus, and also offered sacrifices to him, (Her. v. 48.) In the Greek kingdoms, which arose in the East, after Alexander, it was common for the successor to the throne, to offer divine honours to the former sovereign. Such an apotheosis of Ptolemy is described by Theocritus in his 17th Idyl."

The term apotheosis, among the Romans, signified the elevation of a deceased emperor to divine honours. This practice was common upon the death of almost all emperors, and was usually called their *consecratio*, and the emperor who received the honour of an apotheosis was said *in deorum numerum referri*, or *consecrari*. Romulus was admitted to divine honours under the name of Quirinus. None of the other Roman kings received this honour, and we read of no instance of apotheosis until Julius Cæsar, who was deified after his death, and games were instituted to his honour by Augustus. (Suet. Jul. Cæsar 88.) The ceremonies observed on the occasion of an apotheosis, have been described by Herodian, (iv 3) when a waxen image of the deceased was burnt, with aromatics upon a lofty pile, from the top of which an eagle was let loose to mount into the sky as the smoke ascended, which is believed by the Romans to carry the

soul of the emperor from earth to heaven : from which time he was *worshipped with the other gods*. In conformity with this account, it is common to see on medals struck in honour of an apotheosis, an altar with fire on it, and an eagle taking flight into the air. Medals of this description are very numerous ; we can, from these medals alone trace the names of *sixty individuals* who received the honour of an apotheosis, from the time of Julius Cæsar to that of Constantine the Great. On most of them the word *consecratio* occurs. Many other monuments have come down to us which represent an apotheosis. Of these the most celebrated is the bas-relief in the Townley gallery of the British Museum, which represents the apotheosis of Homer ; and there is a beautiful representation of the apotheosis of Augustus on an onyx-stone in the Royal museum at Paris. The wives and other female relations of the emperors sometimes received the honour of an apotheosis ; such as Livia Augusta, the wife of Nero, and Faustina, the wife of Antoninus.

The emperors above spoken of, were not only deified, but they had *flamens*, or priests, especially appointed to do them honour. Flamen, says Dr. Smith, was the name for any Roman priest, who was devoted to the service of any particular god, (Cicero de Legg. ii. 8.) and who received a distinguishing epithet from the deity to whom he ministered. (Varro de Ling. Lat. v. 84.) The most dignified were those attached to Jove, Mars, and Quirinus (or Romulus) : the Flamen Dialis, Flamen Martialis, and the Flamen Quirinalis. The number was eventually increased to fifteen ; but the three original flamens were always chosen from among the patricians, and styled *majores* ; the rest from the plebeians, with the epithet *minores*. The priests instituted to Augustus, after his death, were called Sodales. (Suet. Claud. 6. Galb. 8.)

In Adams' Roman Antiquities, page 453. we read, that "the highest honours were decreed to illustrious persons after death. (Minuc. Felix in Octav.) The Romans worshipped their founder Romulus as a god, under the name of Quirinus, (Liv. i. 16.) Hence, afterwards, the solemn consecration (apotheosis) of the emperors, by a decree of the senate, (Herodian iv. 2.) who were thus said to be ranked in the number of the gods (*in deorum numerum, inter vel in deos referri*, Suet. Cæs. 88. *celo dicari*, Plin. Pan. 11. &c.) also some empresses, (Suet. Cl. 11. Tacit. Ann. v. 2. xvi. 21.) Temples and priests were assigned to them. They were invoked with prayers. (Virg. G. i. 42.) Men swore by their name or genius, and offered victims on their altar (Horat. Ep. ii. 1, 16.)"

The same author, page 157, speaks of an ancient stone found at Ancyra, in Asia Minor, with the following inscrip-

tion; "*Imp. Cæsar Divi F. &c.*" which he renders "The Emperor Cæsar, the (adopted) son of (Julius Cæsar, called) Divus (after his deification.)" In which we have an instance of the word *Divus*, or God, used with reference to Julius Cæsar, without even the mention of his name, on the supposition that he would be recognized by this epithet, from his having been deified.

He says again, page 159. "It was usual to swear by the *genius*, the fortune, or the safety of the emperor (during his life-time,) which was first decreed in honour of Julius Cæsar, (Dio. xlv. 6.) and commonly observed: (Id. 50.) so likewise by that of Augustus, even after his death, (Id. lvii. 9.) To violate this oath was esteemed a heinous crime, (Ibid et Tacitus, Ann. 1. 73.) and more severely punished than real perjury, (Tertull. Apol. 18). It was reckoned a species of treason, and punished by cutting out the tongue (Gothofred in loco:) so that Minutius Felix justly says, (c. 29.) *Est ethnicis totius per Jovis genium pejerare quam regis.*

In imitation of the temple and divine honours appointed by the Triumviri to Julius Cæsar, (Dio. xlvii. 18.) and confirmed by Augustus, (Id. li. 20.) altars were privately erected to Augustus himself, at Rome, (Virg. Ec. i. 7. Hor. Ep. ii. 1, 16. Ovid. Fast. i. 13.) and particularly in the provinces; but he permitted no temple to be publicly consecrated to him, unless in conjunction with the city, Rome. After his death they were *very frequent*.

Ib. 300. "The Triumviri consecrated a chapel to Cæsar, in the Forum, on the place where he was burnt, and ordained that no person who fled thither for sanctuary should be taken from thence to punishment: a thing which, says Dio, had been granted to no one before, not even to any divinity; except the asylum of Romulus."

To the above we may add the testimony of Gibbon, chap. iii. sect. 5. "The deification of the emperors is the only instance in which they departed from their accustomed prudence and modesty. The Asiatic Greeks were the first inventors, the successors of Alexander, the first objects, of this servile and impious mode of adulation. It was easily transferred from the kings to the governors of Asia; and the Roman magistrates very frequently were adored as provincial deities, with the pomp of altars and temples, of festivals and sacrifices. It was natural that the emperors should not refuse what the proconsuls had accepted; and the divine honours which both the one and the other received from the provinces, attested rather the despotism than the servitude of Rome. But the conquerors soon imitated the vanquished nations, in the use of flattery; and the imperious spirit of the first Cæsar

too easily consented to assume an ambition, which was never afterwards revived, except by the madness of Caligula and Domitian. Augustus permitted, indeed some of the provincial cities to erect temples to his honour, on condition that they should associate the worship of Rome with that of the sovereign : he tolerated private superstition, of which he might be the object ; but he contented himself with being revered by the senate and people in his human character, and wisely left to his successor the care of his public deification. A regular custom was introduced, that on the decease of every emperor, who had neither lived nor died like a tyrant, the senate by a solemn decree should place him in the number of the gods ; and the ceremonies of his apotheosis were blended with those of his funeral."

We have an instance of the deification of Romulus in Livy, book i. ch. 16. when, as it was thought, that king was caught up to heaven. "Deinde, a paucis initio facto, Deum Deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanæ salvere universi Romulum jubent : pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius summum semper sospitet progeniem." Also of a prayer, in which his name is ranked immediately after that of Jupiter and Juno, and before that of all the celestial gods, (Liv. liber I. chap. 32.) "Audi, Jupiter, et tu, Juno, Quirine, Diique omnes cœlestes, vosque terrestres, vosque inferni, audite."

Again, we have an instance of the word Divus, "God," prefixed to the name of Augustus, to whom, after his death a temple and religious honours were decreed. (Tacitus, book i. section 11,) "Et ille varie disserebat, de magnitudine imperii, sua modestia : 'Solam Divi Augusti mentem tantæ molis capacem.'"

Again in Tacit. Ann. Book iv, section 36, 37, "Cum Divus Augustus sibi atque urbi Romæ templum apud Pergamum sisti non prohibuisset."

In book iv, section 38, we have the following sentence : "Optimos quippe mortalium altissima cupere. Sic Herculem et Liberum apud Græcos, Quirinum apud nos, Deum numero additos."

In Tacitus Ann. Book xvi, section 21, we read of divine honours being decreed to Poppæa, the wife of Nero, who, in the next section is called Poppæam divam, e. g. "Ejusdem animi est, Poppæam divam non credere, cujus in acta divi Augusti et divi Julii non jurare."

Eutropius says of Domitian, "Dominum se et Deum primus appellare jussit ; nullam sibi nisi auream et argenteam statuam in Capitolio poni passus est ; superbia quoque in eo execrabilis fuit." And of Diocletian, he says, "Diocletianus moratus callidè fuit, sagax præterea, et admodum subtilis

ingenio, et qui severitatem suam alienâ invidiâ vellet explere diligentissimus tamen et solertissimus princeps; et qui in imperio Romano primus regiæ consuetudinis formam, magis quam Romanæ libertatis, inexit; adorarique se jussit, cum ante eum cuncti salutarentur."

Modestius tells us, that the first cohort in the Roman armies carried, with the eagles, images of the emperors, which the soldiers worshipped."

In Hooke's Roman History, book xi. chap. 6, we read, that in the gymnasium at Alexandria, Antony dressed like Bacchus, and Cleopatra like Isis, were seated under an alcove of silver, and on two thrones of gold, when their two sons were introduced as kings to pay their respects to these pretended deities. "Cum ante, novum se Liberum patrem appellari jussisset, cum redimitus hederis, crocatâque velatus aureâ, et thyrsum tenens, cothurnisque subnixus, curru velut Liber Pater, vectus esset Alexandriæ. Vell. Pat. 2. 82. Krause, p. 387.

Horatii Carm. Book iv. ode 5, commences with the following ascription to Augustus:

"Divis orte bonis, optime Romulæ

"Custos gentis."

On which the Commentator remarks, "Ostendere vult Augustum bonum esse Deum, a diis bonis editum."

In the same ode, is the following expression relating to Augustus:

"et alteris

"Te mensis adhibet deum."

In Hor. Epist. Book, ii. Ep. 1, line 5, addressed to Augustus, we read.

"Romulus, et Liber Pater, et cum Castore Pollux,

"Post ingenia facta deorum in templa recepti."

Pliny's letter to Trajan may be quoted here, a part of which is to the following effect:

"An anonymous libel was exhibited with a catalogue of names of persons, who yet declared, that they were not Christians then, or ever had been; and they repeated after me an invocation of the gods, and of your image, which, for this purpose, I had ordered to be brought with the images of the deities. They performed sacred rites with wine and frankincense, and execrated Christ,—none of which things I am told a real Christian can ever be compelled to do. On this account I dismissed them. Others, named by an informer, first affirmed, and then denied the charge of Christianity; declaring that they had been Christians, but had ceased to be so, some three years ago, others still longer, some even twenty years ago. All of them worshipped your image,

and the statues of the gods, and also execrated Christ."

From the foregoing extracts, we perceive, that both among the Greeks and Romans, it was common to deify distinguished mortals at their death, or even during their lives; and thus we need not be surprised, if amongst a people farther removed from the light of revelation, such practices should prevail. It appears, that the Romans first deified Romulus, the founder of their state, in which we perceive a resemblance to the extravagant ascriptions of the honours of deity to their first emperors by the Chinese. After Romulus, the kings and consuls of Rome were not greeted with divine honours; neither were the kings of the three dynasties Hsia, Shang, and Chow, in China, called Tes. The practice of deifying deceased rulers was resumed under Julius Cæsar and the emperors who succeeded him, as was the case under Tein-che-hwang, in China, with the Han and following dynasties: It seems, however, that the Romans excluded from the list of deified emperors, those who had disgraced themselves by tyranny; and in a similar way the Imperial ritual, appointing the rites for the worship of the former monarchs of China, omits all those emperors and even dynasties, who are regarded as having acted in opposition to the doctrines of the sages. The Romans in their prayers put Romulus before the celestial, terrestrial, and infernal beings invoked by them; and in a way not much unlike this, the Chinese, in the state ritual, arrange the services intended for the honour of deceased monarchs, before those presented to the spirits of heaven and earth: while the prefixing of *Divus* to the name of Augustus, and *Theos* to that of Cæsar, has its counterpart in the practice, to which the Chinese are accustomed, of putting *Te* before the names of their deified emperors. Even the manner of the apotheosis, as described by Herodian, viz. that of an eagle mounting into the sky, and bearing the soul of the emperor from earth to heaven, is not much unlike that which the Chinese fable of 黃帝 Hwang-te, who is said to have been carried up to heaven by a long-bearded dragon; which story has given rise to the Chinese expressions with regard to their deceased emperors "he mounted the dragon as a chariot: the driver of the dragon has ascended to heaven: the driver of the dragon has been taken up on high," &c. "which dragon," says Visdelou, "bears some resemblance to the eagle, in the apotheosis of the Roman emperors, who were thought either to have ascended to heaven in the form of an eagle, or to have been borne thither on the wings of the royal bird." See his essay appended to De Guignes' translation of the Shoo-king.

The resemblance between the deification of emperors prac-

ticed by the Romans, and that current among the Chinese, holds good in another respect, that it prevailed in both nations until the Gospel came among them ; and as the practice, and all the superstitions connected with it gave way before the influence of Christianity in the days of Constantine, may we not hope that the same result will follow the propagation of the Gospel in China in these latter days. The Apostles, when they began to preach the truth throughout the Roman empire, found human rulers deified, and regularly sacrificed to, after their death ; while the divine name was frequently prefixed to that of human beings, both before and after their decease ; the Apostles, however, did not object to use the word *Theos*, as generic for God, notwithstanding it was prostituted to such purposes ; but finding that it was used by the people for whom they wrote in the sense of the Supreme, as well as of inferior deities, they by the sole appropriation of it to divine beings, showed that they disapproved of its application to mortals, and finally the impious ascription of the divine name to mortal men, with the absurd practice of deifying emperors, gave way before the increasing light of the Gospel.

If we were asked whether, with the views entertained by us, we should discountenance the use of the word *Te*, for an emperor, we should say, just as much as the Apostles would have done the employment of *Theos* before Cæsar, or *Divus* before Augustus ; and we have no doubt that, in proportion as the Gospel triumphs, such practices will be discontinued. Let it be observed, however, that we merely speak of discountenancing the use of *Te*, with such an application, but not of *Hwang-te* : this latter being a set phrase used in a definite sense which is never mistaken. In the Chinese state ritual, as we have before observed, the word *Hwang-te* is always used for the emperor, while *Te* is appropriated exclusively to the Supreme, the former being elevated but two, and the latter three characters above the line. We might fall back, therefore, upon this example.

But it has been objected, that the word *Te* is used for emperors by Chinese historians, in the way of regular narrative ; and if we take the stream of historical works from the Shoo-king, down to the present time, hundreds and thousands of instances would be found, where *Te* refers to emperors, to one in which it is used in the sense of God : in reply to which we may say, that the Chinese having adopted the system of deifying deceased emperors, applied to them the same name which they had been in the habit of employing when speaking of Heaven, or the Divinity : thus they say, *Te* spoke, and *Te* acted, and *Te* issued his commands,

&c. But it is observable, that the word *Te*, in the history of China, is used with reference to none but the first five emperors, ending with *Yaôu* and *Shún* ; after their death, the word *王 wang*, king is employed ; and not until the tyrant of *Tsin*, assumed the title of first monarch, was the word *Te* again applied. The Han dynasty having continued the title of *Hwang-te*, the word *Te* is used with reference to deceased emperors down to the present dynasty. As to the number of instances in which *Te* occurs, we may remark, that in writing historical works, which treat principally of earthly emperors, and rarely of divine rulers, it is not to be wondered at, that the former are mentioned much more frequently than the latter. The same would be the case with histories composed by *Hume* and *Gibbon* : and if the English had been in the habit of deifying their monarchs, as the Chinese have, and of using the same term for the Supreme, that they did, by the consent of their wise men, for the virtuous kings of antiquity, and through the flattery of courtiers, or the adulation of descendants, for departed monarchs in general, then we should doubtless have found hundreds of instances, in which the term in question was applied to human, to one, in which it was used with the reference to the Divine ruler.

Another objection to *Te* is, that if employed in translating the first commandment, it would forbid homage to human emperors, and unloose the bonds of civil obedience. Seeing that various dictionaries give the meaning of the word *Te*, as the honourable designation of the ruling power, and the title of one who rules over the empire, it has been asked, whether, by forbidding the Chinese to have any other *Tes* besides the one issuing the command, we should not be propagating a precept the most disorganizing and subversive of civil government, that ever was propounded ? to which we reply, that there might be some force in the objection, if the Chinese had been in the habit of using the word *Te* commonly for a living emperor, and if they had never employed it in the sense of superior and invisible beings, and especially for one to whom they ascribe the production and guidance of all things. As it appears, however, from the Imperial Dictionary, that the word *Te* is one of the names of Heaven, whom the Chinese regard as the Divinity, and that it was applied by themselves to earthly rulers, only in consequence of their supposed resemblance to the Divine, we might, even on their own principles, insist on the propriety of acknowledging only one *Te*. For, if it be necessary, as their lexicographers say, that one should imitate Heaven, or the Divinity, in virtue, before he could be entitled to the name of *Te*, we might ask them, who ever fully and perfectly

imitated the Divinity in excellence and goodness ? and as no human or angelic being could pretend to overshadow all things with a protective influence as Heaven does, or to shed down natural and moral blessings on mankind like the Divinity, so no one could ever presume to appropriate to himself the name of Te. In like manner, we might argue, as during his life-time, he would not claim such distinction, so after his death, no such honour could be put upon him. Besides we have shewn, that it is not the practice of the Chinese, in state papers and sober writing, to attach to the names of their emperors the word Te, during their lives, but after death, when they are supposed to have mounted the prancing dragons and soared aloft, (as the souls of the Roman emperors were thought to have mounted on eagle's wings to heaven,) and when they have been enshrined in the ancestral temple, and even associated as secondaries in the sacrifices offered to the Supreme in heaven ; under such circumstances, and honoured with such worship, it is not wonderful that the Chinese should go the length of giving them the name usually appropriated to the Divinity. The Chinese know very well how to distinguish between earthly and celestial Tes, between visible and invisible beings, who are the objects of adoration : and if it were clearly stated, that they must not put any one on a par with Him whom they call the Lord and Governor of Heaven, and the arbiter of human destinies, and that they should have none other such Tes before him, they would no doubt, see the propriety of it, and would be very far from supposing that by such a prohibition we meant to forbid allegiance to civil rulers.

An attentive reader of the precept contained in the first commandment would see that the person speaking was not a human but a divine being. That he was represented as Jehovah, who had brought the people up out of the land of Egypt, and the house of bondage ; and whatever mode be adopted for rendering the incommunicable name, whether we use Supreme Lord, or Heaven's Sovereign, or the self-existent One, it will evidently be seen, that some invisible and celestial, some divine and infinitely exalted being is spoken of, who had a right to command, and who possessed authority over the universe. They would recognize in fact the Supreme in Heaven, who was also the most High over all the earth. Now no lord or sovereign could tolerate in those subject to his sway, or who formed part of his dominion, a divided allegiance ; he must have all or none. And is it surprising that the Lord and Governor of Heaven, should require his subjects to acknowledge him only as Supreme ? or would it be considered as disorganizing or

subversive of civil government, for an invisible and celestial ruler to require from his votaries that they should worship him alone? and when it appears, that the person speaking is the Lord of all, who claims sovereignty over all his creatures, it will then seem highly proper, that he should demand from his people, that they should have none other spiritual and divine Tes before him. It would be evident, that the passage under consideration did not refer to human rulers, but to invisible and celestial beings, and therefore the true meaning conveyed by it would be seen to be, that he who is Lord of the invisible world, requires that men should have no other such Lords besides himself. In fact, the chief Chinese lexicographer explains the word *Te* as originally meaning the Supreme Divinity, besides a variety of spiritual beings. All well-informed Chinese feel no difficulty in understanding the word, when it refers to divine and spiritual beings, in their own books; and we have not met with a single instance in which interpreters have made any difficulty about the meaning of *Te* in the ancient classics; nor of any dispute as to whether it referred to a visible or invisible being. We have given hundreds of instances, and could have produced many more, in which the word *Te* occurs in the sense of divine beings, while it is so used by the common people with reference to the objects of their own worship, in daily conversation, and yet we never met with any who misinterpreted the meaning, or of any dispute arising amongst them, as to the right application of the term. If *Te* must not be used because some Chinese might possibly apply it to human rulers, we ought to remember that the same argument would apply in the case of the Hebrew word *Elohim*. It is well known that the law of Moses speaks of civil judges as *Elohim*, and sanctions their being so called; if then an Israelite were told, that he must have no other *Elohim* but Jehovah, he might understand it as prohibiting all deference to civil judges. But the Israelites, it may be replied, would understand the passage as referring to spiritual beings only, notwithstanding the word was applied to civil judges; and so we may say, that the Chinese would understand *Te* to refer to invisible and divine beings, notwithstanding the word was used with a civil acceptance.

It has been said, that Taou-kwang is as much a *Te* or Ruler, as Shang-te is, though he rules in a much smaller space; and if we were to tell the Chinese that they must have no other Tes besides Jehovah, Taou-kwang might complain of our interfering with his sovereignty, and forbid the propagation of our religion in his dominions. But such apprehensions are entirely groundless; because, in the first

place, the title given to Taou-kwang in those state-papers which are published under his sanction is not Te, but Hwang-shang, or Hwang-te; in the next place, Taou-kwang himself, and all his progenitors, in their essays and public documents, have been in the habit of using the word Te for the Supreme Being, (as far as they were acquainted with him,) and for inferior divinities, without seeming to imagine for a moment that their subjects would understand by such term, either themselves or their office. Of such uses of the term, there are very frequent instances; among the rest we may notice, that Shun-che, the first emperor of the present dynasty, speaks of "carrying out the business entrusted to him by Te, and of handing it down to future ages." K'ien-lung, speaking of his father Yung-ching, says, that "the virtue of his sincerity was such, that he could submit himself to the inspection of Te." In another place the Imperial writer asks, "on whom are we to rely for the staff of life but Te?" Further, Te is said to be "universally acquainted with affairs, how much more with our reverence in worship? looking up to him we supplicate a favourable year, upon which our wishes are perpetually set." Again, the emperor says, that "the clouds and storms encircle the throne of Te, as the people surround the standard of their sovereign." Also speaking of prayer, he says, "If there be but the smallest degree of sincerity, it will be perceived by the glance of Te;" for "Te delights in fostering human life;" and "Te will bestow the wished-for rain." "Te alone can discern between the right and the wrong;" and "the sincere thoughts in us are to be ascribed to the virtuous nature bestowed on us by Te." Now in all the above sentences it is manifest that the imperial writers used the word Te in the sense of a Divine Being; by it they certainly did not refer to themselves, neither was there any danger of their subjects understanding the word as referring to earthly rulers. In fact we find that, in the state ritual, the being honoured with supreme adoration, and occupying the chief shrine in the imperial sacrifice is Te, to whom the emperor accords the highest honours which the theory of his religion acknowledges. If, grounded on this service, any one were to urge the necessity of confining religious adoration to one, and the propriety of excluding all others, it would not appear so extraordinary as some may suppose; and certainly no Chinese would imagine, from such a requisition, that civil obedience was improper; or that they were not to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, as well as to God the things that are God's. The jealousy of the Divine Being as to the worship paid to any besides himself is purely a doctrine of the Christians: and we could not expect to meet in the Chinese

system with a prohibition of having more gods than one; but if such a doctrine were propounded to Taou-kwang, we have no doubt that he would see the justice of allowing, that such a God as the Scripture reveals might well require the sole adoration of mankind: at any rate the emperor could not be so absurd as to suppose, that a human sovereign was alluded to by the use of the word Te, when he knows that from all antiquity down to the present day, all the learned in his nation have been in the habit of using the term in question to designate the Ruler of all.

If it be still urged, that the Chinese would be in danger of misunderstanding the sense of the first commandment, were Te employed for God; we reply, that there would be equal danger of their misunderstanding it, if Shin were used. For according to the 六書故 Lüh shoo koo, "every thing ethereal and spiritual is called Shin; the soul is the Shin, and the anima is the Kwei of the two-fold breath of nature. In the Imperial Dictionary, we read, that "Shin is ling, spirit," and again, "Ling, spirit, is Shin." In all the above instances, Shin cannot be rendered God, and it is translated spirit by the most celebrated European Sinologues. But as we expect to dwell on this point more fully in a subsequent part of this paper, we shall take it for granted here, that the principal meaning of the word Shin is spirit or spiritual beings. Such being assumed, we ask, what would the Chinese understand by the requisition to have none other Shins before the one making the demand. To have, means not only to possess, but to hold, or regard as existing; and when a Chinese is told that he must not possess nor regard as existing, any other Shins besides the one addressing him, he might possibly understand it as requiring him to renounce the idea of the existence of anything else ethereal and spiritual, or of any other invisible and inscrutable thing, besides the being issuing the command; in short, that there are no spirits in heaven, nor on earth, but that one. That a Chinese, taking the native dictionaries for his guide, would be in danger of thus interpreting the first commandment, cannot be denied by any one who considers that his own spirit is a Shin, and that Shin is used in Chinese books for mere spirits, a hundred times to one where it designates divine persons. If it be said, that no sensible Chinese would misunderstand the term, from its connection; we answer, that the same and much more may be said with regard to Te: for Te is used for the author and disposer of all things, as well as for the object of supreme regard, while Shin never is.

ticed by the Romans, and that current among the Chinese, holds good in another respect, that it prevailed in both nations until the Gospel came among them ; and as the practice, and all the superstitions connected with it gave way before the influence of Christianity in the days of Constantine, may we not hope that the same result will follow the propagation of the Gospel in China in these latter days. The Apostles, when they began to preach the truth throughout the Roman empire, found human rulers deified, and regularly sacrificed to, after their death ; while the divine name was frequently prefixed to that of human beings, both before and after their decease ; the Apostles, however, did not object to use the word *Theos*, as generic for God, notwithstanding it was prostituted to such purposes ; but finding that it was used by the people for whom they wrote in the sense of the Supreme, as well as of inferior deities, they by the sole appropriation of it to divine beings, showed that they disapproved of its application to mortals, and finally the impious ascription of the divine name to mortal men, with the absurd practice of deifying emperors, gave way before the increasing light of the Gospel.

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But it has been objected, that the word *Te* is used for emperors by Chinese historians, in the way of regular narrative ; and if we take the stream of historical works from the Shoo-king, down to the present time, hundreds and thousands of instances would be found, where *Te* refers to emperors, to one in which it is used in the sense of God : in reply to which we may say, that the Chinese having adopted the system of deifying deceased emperors, applied to them the same name which they had been in the habit of employing when speaking of Heaven, or the Divinity : thus they say, that *Te* spoke, and *Te* acted, and *Te* issued his commands,

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and not of nature, and left the difference in nature between the two kinds of *Kurioi* (the human and divine) to be gathered from the general strain of revelation. Attentive readers of the New Testament have however felt, that in those cases in which quotations are made from the old, containing the word Jehovah in them, particularly where Christ is prophesied of, it would have tended more readily to the elucidation of the doctrine of his divinity to common readers had the original term been retained. Comp. Matt. 3: 3. Is. 40: 3.

It has been objected, that the word *Te* cannot properly be applied to express the oneness of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, because it is applied to a succession of persons, and does not, say the objectors designate nature; we conceive however, that the term was originally applicable to one being, having one nature or substance, and that its application to a succession of persons, is an incidental circumstance in its history as a word, arising from the peculiar tendency of the Chinese, to reverence their emperors as the sons of Heaven, or even as the Divinity himself. The objection that *Te* cannot properly be used to express the oneness of the persons in the Trinity, because it is applied to a succession of persons, would be obviated by the consideration, that the emperors over the Chinese people, are by them properly called *Tes*, in distinction from *Hwang-te*, only after their death and deification, when they are enshrined in the ancestral temple, have the *Meaou-haou* applied to them, and are worshipped as Gods. But the same objection could also have been raised against *Theos* and *Deus*, in the apostles' days which terms had been applied to the Roman Emperors in succession after their death, and even sometimes during their lives. In truth, it is not by anything in the term which we employ for God, that we can ever hope to give to heathen nations accurate ideas on so mysterious a subject as the Trinity. We must invent new terms to express that oneness of nature which is involved in the word Godhead. We conceive that *Shin*, of itself, supposing for a moment that it did mean something divine, could not convey the idea involved in the term Deity, and would need some such adjunct as 性 *shing*, to give it the meaning of nature; and the same method could be adopted with regard to *Te*.

We have already shewn from the Imperial Dictionary, that *Te* is one of the names of Heaven, or the Divinity, and is applied to human rulers only in consequence of their supposed resemblance to Heaven in virtue or quality. It is not then, a title indicative of office, but an epithet expressive of the quality of the person to whom it is attached, is indicative of the attributes which constitute the being

spoken of, what he is. Heaven could not be Heaven, nor could Te be Te, without that 德 (th, virtue, which constitutes the essential quality of the divinity; nor could human rulers be designated Tes. in the estimation of the Chinese, unless they were supposed to resemble Heaven in this attribute. Te therefore contains in itself the idea of a moral qualification, and is applied to both divine and human persons, because in respect of virtue they are supposed to resemble each other.

But let us, in this point of view, test the suitableness of Shin, as the word whereby to express the idea of God in Chinese. The word God conveys the idea of a being possessed of a divine nature. But all the native dictionaries speak of Shin as spirit, or spiritual energy, and say nothing of its 性 (sing, nature, still less of its 體 (t'he, substance, or essence. If the word 性 (sing, nature, were attached to Shin, the Chinese, if they understood it at all, would consider the compound phrase as indicating the nature of a spirit, rather than that of a god; and, if applied to the oneness of the persons in the Sacred Trinity, it would not convey the impression that they were of one divine essence, but that they were possessed of one and the same spiritual nature.

It has been objected that, notwithstanding Te has been used with reference to the Supreme Divinity, and others called gods by the Chinese, its having been used for other purposes is an argument against its employment by Missionaries as a translation of *Theos*. To this we may reply, that there is no term in the Chinese language, at all approaching to anything like divinity, which has not been used for other purposes. 天 (T'hēen, Heaven, the first word that the Chinese use in that sense, has been employed for the material heavens, as well as for the Lord and Governor thereof; for a particular divinity, (see Morrison); besides being used for the gods of the thirty-two heavens of the Taouists. It has likewise been used for deified emperors, in which sense it is still employed. Shin, the term proposed by some, means, as we shall see in the sequel, spirit, and has been used for separate and individual spirits, as ghosts, elves, fairies, &c. So that if to designate God, a term be required which has never been used for other purposes, we shall not succeed in finding such a term in the indigenous language of China.

HAVING gone through the arguments for and against *Te*, we come now to the consideration of the other term which has been proposed as the proper rendering of *Theos*, viz. *Shin*. Our first business, however, in discussing the propriety of this term is to ascertain the meaning of it; which we shall do, by reference to the principal Chinese dictionaries, and then to standard writers who have made use of the term.

In the 說文 *Shwō-wān*, we have the following sentence, "The *Shin* or *Shins* of Heaven are those which lead out all things." Taking this sentence as it stands, neither the number nor the nature of the *Shin*, can be definitely made out, but only the business in which the *Shin* or *Shins* of Heaven are engaged. Kang-he quotes the above expression, and adds the explanatory observation of one 徐 *Tseu*, (whose authority is often referred to in the Imperial Dictionary), saying that: 申 *Shin*, (the primitive of 神 *shin*) means to lead out. Heaven manages or directs the sending down of the 氣 *k'he*, to influence all things, hence it is said to lead out all things." Here it is evident, that the sentence from *Tseu* is adduced, with a view of elucidating the previous one quoted from the *Shwō-wān*; and by this latter sentence we find, that the principal person or being acting in this affair is 天 *t'hēen*, Heaven; that the thing which is employed by Heaven in effecting all things is the 氣 *k'he*; and that the manner of the said *K'hes* influencing things is by leading them out; this latter idea is included in the word 神 *Shin*, which comes from 申 *shin*, to lead out. The 天 *t'hēen*, Heaven, of the one sentence is therefore the 天 *t'hēen*, Heaven, of the other; or the Divinity from whom the power to influence originally proceeds. The 氣 *k'he* of the second sentence is also the same with the 神 *shin* of the first; and as Heaven manages or directs the sending down of the *K'he* to influence all things, so Heaven employs the *Shin* to lead out all things. By ascertaining the meaning of the word 氣 *K'he*, therefore, we shall be able to discover something of the import of 神 *Shin*. On referring to the Imperial Dictionary, under the word 氣 *k'he*, we are told, that *k'he* means breath, or to breathe; after which the lexicographer goes on to say, that 形 *hing*, form, or body is the mansion of life, and 氣 *k'he*, breath or spirit, is the origin of life. *K'he* therefore means spirit, as opposed to form. Then, after quoting some passages from the *Yih-king*, which will afterwards

come more fully under our consideration, he says, with reference to the word in question, that “氣 k’he, is the fulness or essence of the Shin;” and in order, in this connection, to assure us of the true meaning of K’he, he adds, “K’he is that which is inhaled and exhaled, which goes out and comes in:” or in other words the breath, or spirit. From all the above we learn, that K’he is spirit as opposed to body, that it is the expiration and inspiration of the breath, and that it is the fulness of the Shin.

Under the word k’he, Morrison gives, “Fume; vapour; halo; ether; the primary matter; the breath; spirit, in a low sense, as the *anima*, or animal soul, of brutes and human beings; animal spirits, &c.” 氣 K’he thus corresponds in a great degree to the *Psyche* of the Greeks, which meant breath; life; the soul as opposed to the body; also the *anima mundi*, which was supposed to pass through all lands and seas, depths and heights.

In the passage under consideration, 氣 K’he doubtless means the breath of nature, or the spirit of Heaven; the *anima* which Heaven sends down to influence all things. In this respect, Shin corresponds with it; the one being the finer, and the other the grosser spirit of nature. 天神 T’hên shin, therefore, is not the God of Heaven, but the spirit of Heaven, which like the k’he, breath of nature, is employed by Heaven, or the Divinity, to influence and lead out all things. Some have thought, that 天神 t’hên shin, in the above sentence, signifies the God of Heaven, because it is thought to be synonymous with 天主 T’hên choo, occurring in the second sentence, which those who advocate this opinion say, means “the Lord of Heaven,” or God. To this it may be replied, that all the best-informed Chinese teachers, who form their opinions independently of any foreign bias, tell us, that 天 t’hên, Heaven must be taken alone, in the sense of the Divinity, and that 主 choo, is undoubtedly a verb here, signifying to rule or manage, or take the superintendence of. In addition to which opinion we may say, that we do not remember to have met with the phrase 天主 t’hên choo, in the sense of the Lord of Heaven, in any of the Confucian classics, or the Commentators of that school. Buddha is spoken of, in one of the Buddhistic works, as the 天主 T’hên choo, Lord of Heaven; and a Taoist writer of fiction has put into the mouth of Shun the expression 天主大帝 T’hên choo ta te, the Great God who is Lord of Heaven; but with these

exceptions, the phrase, as far as we have seen, does not occur in any writer of note : and Morrison says, that it was introduced by the Roman Catholic Missionaries. The phrase

天主 T'hēn choo, quoted by some from the 史記封禪

書 She ke fung shen shoo, is found to be a mistran-lation, owing to a want of attention to the story. The passage runs

thus, “ 人神, 一曰天, 主祠天齊, pā shin, yīh yuā t'hēn, choo sze t'hēn tse, of the eight Shins, the first is called (the Shin of) Heaven, who presides in a temple at T'hēn tse.” Thus the characters T'hēn choo are not to be read together, but must be considered, the one as a substantive, and the other a verb, as we have above rendered them ; while the Shin in the one sentence, corresponds to K'he in the other, according to the verbal explanation of the Chinese teachers, who say, that the Shin of Heaven, is the K'he of Heaven.

In the second definition of Shin given by Kang-he, he quotes the 皇極經世 Hwang keih king she, which says, “ that the Shin of Heaven resides in the sun, while the Shin of a man resides in the eye.” Here it is evident, that the Shin of Heaven cannot mean the God of Heaven, because it is a corresponding phrase with the Shin of a man : and as the Shin of a man cannot be the god of a man, because it is something that belongs to him, and not that which presides over him ; so the Shin of Heaven is something which belongs to Heaven, and not that which presides over it ; and even if the Shin of Heaven (in the sense of God) might be said to reside in the sun, the Shin or god of a man cannot be said to dwell in his eye. The most probable interpretation is that which the Chinese teachers put upon it : viz. that 神 Shin here means the 精神 tsing shin, animal spirits, or rather animation and vivacity.

The phrase 人之神 jin che shin, occurs in the Commentary on a portion of Mang-tsze, which passage may serve to throw some light on its meaning here. “ Māng-tsze said, of that which is found in man, there is nothing better than the apple of his eye : which cannot conceal a man's wickedness. When the breast is honest, the apple of the eye is clear, but when dishonest, dim.” Upon this the Commentator remarks, “ When a man comes into contact with another, his 神 Shin, or spirit, rests in his eye ; hence, when he is honest at heart, his Shin or spirit, is pure and clear ; but when dishonest, his Shin, or spirit, is scattered and confused.” The phrase tsing shin is applied by Morrison to the animation said to be existing or wanting in pictures of the

human countenance. The phrase therefore means, the light or vivacity of heaven dwells in the sun, as the light or vivacity of man dwells in the eye.

In the third class of definitions given by Kang-he, the word Shin is coupled with 明 ming, and must be understood in the sense of intelligent and clear. Under this head, the lexicographer quotes the Shoo-king, where Yaou is said to be 聖 sage-like and 神 shin, intelligent; De Guignes thus renders this phrase "Elle fut relevée par une grande sagesse, et par beaucoup de pénétration." The Commentator on this passage says, that "speaking of his 聖 shing, sage-like qualities, and of his being above common apprehension, he is called 神 shin, inscrutably intelligent." The lexicographer then quotes another work, which says, that "聖 shing, sage-like, means understanding every thing; 神妙 shin meaou, inscrutably mysterious and not to be calculated on." The 易經 Yib king is then quoted, which says, that "whatsoever is inscrutable in the superior and inferior principles of nature, is called 神 Shin." When a thing is fixed, says the commentator on this place, it may be ascertained, and that which may be ascertained, is not fit to be called 神 Shin. Kang-he then quotes another work, saying, "Shin is the utmost point of change; it may be said to be more mysterious than all surrounding objects, and cannot be judged of by visible appearances." Morrison has rendered this passage as follows: "Spirit is so called from its being the most inscrutable of all things." He then goes on to observe, "They explain spirit, so as to denote, not an independent intelligent being, but an invisible intelligent essence, that pervades every thing, and is always present with material forms. 萬物有迹可見, 而神在其中, 無迹可見, 然神不離乎物也, 則萬物之中, 而妙不可測者神也. 故曰妙也." wan wūh yew tseih k'ho këen, urh shin tsae ke chung, woo tseih k'ho këen, jen shin pūh le hoo wūh yay, ts'ih wan wūh che chung, urh meaou pūh k'ho ts'ih chay shin yay, koo yuē meaou yay, All material existences have traces which may be seen; but the spiritual essence which is in them has no trace that can be seen, yet spirit is never absent from matter; thus that *admirable* (or *subtle*) and inscrutable something, which is in all material existences is *spirit*, which is from this circumstance called *subtle*, (*inscrutable* or *admirable*.)" To return to Kang-he:

then follows a quotation from Māng-tsze, stating that "sagelike and not to be comprehended by others is called 神 Shin:" which is thus rendered by Julien, "qui sanctus est, et non potest percipi, dicitur spiritualis vir; i. e. homines ille quem, sanctum *onta*, percipere non possunt, spiritualement vocant." He adds, "non omnes sancti percipi non possunt. Ut vero quis celsissimum sanctitatis gradum ita attigit ut ejus virtus, jam tum subtilissima et maxime defæcata, sensus effugiat, continuo dicitur 神 shin, spiritualis vir." Thus, in the citations given under this class of meanings, we see nothing that rises above the idea of what is spiritual or spirituality. Inscrutability and mystery are as applicable to spirituality as they are to divinity: but to say that a thing is above human comprehension, does not imply that it is divine.

In the next definition of Shin given in the Imperial Dictionary, we meet with the words 鬼神 Kwei Shin combined; under which the lexicographer says, "the 魂 hwān, soul of the 陽 yang, superior principle of nature, is Shin, and the 魄 p'hih, anima of the inferior principle of nature is Kwei." Here two words are employed to explain Shin and Kwei, which are evidently allied to spirit, and have no necessary connection with divinity. And lest we should suppose that anything like divinity was intended by Shin, Kang-he goes on to tell us, that "the expandings of the 氣 k'he, or breath of nature, constitute Shin, and its contractings, Kwei." In order the better to comprehend the idea of the lexicographer, we will here quote the observations of Visdelou, who says, "Some, with regard to the etymology of the word, interpret the term Shin, by another of the same sound, which signifies to extend one's-self; and the term Kwei, by another of the same denomination, meaning to fall back, to bend one's-self back, to shrink up: and by this extension and contraction, which they call the going and coming, or the systole and diastole of nature, they figure the vicissitudes of nature in its alternate generation and decay: for they do not imagine that the Kwei Shins, considered as the innate properties of the Yin and Yang, are of natures subsistent of themselves, but solely the forms of the things: neither distinct even from the things which they compose, and of which they are an intrinsic and essential part."

In the 六書故 Lüeh shoo koo, we have the following, "that which is 精靈 tsing ling, *ethereal and spiritual*, is

called Shin. All Shins come from Heaven, but when we speak of them distinctively, then those which belong to heaven are called Shins, those which belong to men are called Kweis, and those which belong to earth are called K'hes; spoken of unitedly, they are generally called Shins. Shin is the production of the male or superior principle. Kwei is the production of the female or inferior principle. With respect to man, the soul is his Shin, and the anima is his Kwei. Hence the Le-ke says, 'the K'he, or spirit (of nature) is the fulness of the Shin, and the 魄 p'h'h, or anima (of nature) is the fulness of the Kwei.' With respect to the five viscera of the human body, the heart stores up the Shin: as that is the faculty which leads out and expands. Every empty spiritual thing, that is inscrutable in its transformations, is generally called Shin. The Yih-king says, Shin is spoken of as more mysterious than all surrounding objects." What idea is to be gathered from all this, but that Shin means spirit? There can be no doubt that Shin according to this author conveys the idea of whatever is ethereal and spiritual, intangible and inscrutable. In man, Shin is the soul, it takes up its seat in the heart, and at death it constitutes his Kwei, or manes. Further what the Kwei is in man, such is also the Shin of Heaven, and the K'he of earth, it is the soul of nature or the *anima mundi*, the *Psyche* which passes through all lands and seas, heights and depths. From this we gather most assuredly that Shin is spirit, and no sanction is by this author given to the idea that Shin means God.

It will serve to afford us some additional evidence of the meaning of Shin as spirit, if we consult the Imperial dictionary under the correlative terms with which it is occasionally interchangeable. Under the word 靈 ling, (which is thought so fully to represent the idea of spirit, that a writer in the Chinese Repository, argues for its adoption as the most suitable rendering for *pneuma*.) we read "that Shin is to be explained by ling;" in order to shew this, a passage is quoted which says that "the 精氣 tsing k'he, ethereal spirit of the superior principle of nature is called Shin, and the 精氣 tsing k'he, ethereal spirit of the inferior principle of nature is called Ling." Again, quoting the Shoo-king, man is said to be of all things the most *ling*: under which head the lexicographer says, ling is to be explained by Shin: thus we have two words explained backwards and forwards by each other; as though they were entirely synonymous, and perfectly equivalent in signification. Now as ling does not in its general and obvious meaning signify divine, so we

contend that this is not the primary and radical meaning of Shin; but as ling means spiritual, and with reference to the mind of man intelligent, so Shin means spiritual likewise. Kang-he quotes a sentence from the Book of Odes, where ling appears to mean miraculous, or the work of spiritual beings. Again quoting a writer on the same book, he says, that "whatever is ethereal and intelligent with regard to Shin, is called ling or spiritual." Under the word 鬼 kwei, the Imperial Dictionary says, that "Kwei is that to which the 精魂 tsing hwän, ethereal soul reverts; and that when the 精神 tsing shin, pure spirit leaves the body, each part reverts to its proper place: hence the reverting is called Kwei." Under the word 魂 hwän, Kang-he says, that "the 魂 魄 hwän pih, finer and grosser parts of the human soul are the names of 神靈 shin ling, spirits: the 靈 ling, or spirit that attaches itself to the body is called 魄 pih, and the 神 shin, or spirit that attaches itself to the 氣 k'he, breath, is called 魂 hwän, or soul. One talks of a man's pih having asked a question of his hwän; upon which the commentator remarks, that "the pih is the 陰神 yin shin, more concealed spirit of a man, and the hwän is the 陽神 yang shin, more manifest spirit of a man." Here it is evident, from the connection of Shin with hwän, the soul, and from its interchangeability with ling, spirit, that the meaning of it must be spirit and not divinity.

In the 五車韻瑞 Woo-k'u-yun-shy, we have the meaning of Shin given by a variety of quotations from various works in which Shin is found; in explaining the meaning of the term this writer quotes the 說文 Shwō-wän, about the T'hsen shin leading out all things, and then gives the explanation of the word Shin from the 廣韻 Kwang-yun dictionary, saying that it means ling, spirit. Here then we have the declared opinion of an intelligent lexicographer that the word Shin means spirit; while he adds no other meanings; but only quotes those passages from the Yih-king and Mäng-tze which we have already met with in Kang-he. We have thus seen that the chief Chinese dictionaries understand Shin in the sense of spirit, or spiritual energy and intelligence. No one of them appears to have given to Shin the sense of divinity, either when explaining that term itself or its correlatives. Those who propose Shin therefore as indicative of divinity, or as the generic name for God, are unable to derive any support from the

principal dictionaries of the language, compiled by the Chinese themselves : while on the contrary the chief lexicographers give to it the meaning of spirit. The incongruity of using a term in a sense which is sanctioned by no standard native lexicon, will appear very striking to those who have been accustomed to quote Johnson or Webster as authorities in English, and the Dictionary of the Academy in the French language.

From the lexicographers we pass on to the classics, referring especially to those parts in which the word Shin is explained, in order to ascertain its meaning, and with this view we will first consult Confucius himself.

In the *Lo-ke*, sect. 8, page 45, one of his disciples called Tsae-gno, addressed the sage, saying, "I have heard of the names of the Kwei Shins, but I do not know what they mean." To which Confucius replied, "the 氣 k'he, or spirit is the fulness of the Shin, and the 魄 pih, or *anima* is the fulness of the Kwei : to unite the Kwei with the Shin is the perfection of the true doctrine." From the paraphrase it appears, that "that which enables a man to move about is the k'he, or spirit ; while the grosser particles of the human form constitute the pih, or *anima*. At death the more 靈 ling, or subtile part of the spirit constitutes the Shin, and the more 靈 ling, or subtile part of the *anima* constitutes the Kwei. During life the spirit and *anima* are united : at death the 氣 k'he, spirit ascends, and the 魄 pih, *anima* descends, and they thus become divided ; but the sage would consider the Kwei and the Shin, as still combined, in order to establish his instruction."

Confucius continues, "All living men must die, and at death return to earth, this is called the Kwei ; the bones and flesh decay under ground, and thus covered up, become common earth ; while the 氣 k'he, spirit is diffused and expands aloft ; this becoming brightly illumined, ascends like a fragrant vapour, or produces a mournful feeling, which is the 精 tsing, essence of things, and the display of the Shin." The paraphrase says, "the 氣 k'he, the human spirit must some time become exhausted, and death is that which man cannot avoid ; at death the 魄 pih, or *anima* descends and returns to earth ; this is called the Kwei : the 氣 k'he, or spirit, however, diffuses itself and expanding abroad, becomes either a light that appears occasionally, or a fragrant vapour, or something that causes men's feelings to be depressed and mournful ; these are the 精靈 tsing ling,

subtile essences or ethereal spirits of things, and thus it is that the acting of the Shins cannot be concealed." The critic says, "when men's bodies are united with their spirits they live; at death the body and spirit separate, the 精靈 *tsing ling*, subtile essence of the spirit expands, and mounting aloft becomes a 神靈 *shin ling*, spiritual intelligence, 光明 *kwang ming*, bright and shining." In the above extracts we are plainly told, that the origin of the Shin is the spirit of man, which at death mounts aloft and becomes a spiritual intelligence.

The sage continues. "Because these were the subtile essences of things, men invented a most honourable appellation for them, and clearly designated them Kwei Shins, that they might be patterns for the common people, and that all might venerate and submit to them."

The critic says, that "the Kwei Shins are originally the souls and *anima* of men and things, but if they were merely called souls and *anima*, the designation would not be sufficiently honourable: the sage therefore, alluding to them as the subtile essences of men and things after death, gave them this very honourable title of Kwei Shins (or spirits.)"

From this we perceive, that the sages of the Confucian school took their idea of the Kwei Shins from the souls and *anima* of deceased men and animals. But fancying that these souls or *anima* sometimes manifested themselves by means of a bright halo, or a fragrant vapour, and that they afforded protection to their descendants, they conceived the phrase, soul or *anima*, not to be sufficiently dignified, and therefore called them Kwei Shins, spiritual beings.

In the Lun-yu, book 6, page 3, K'he-loo, another of the disciples of Confucius, asked about serving the Kwei Shins? when Confucius replied, "not being able to serve men, how can you expect to serve the Kwei."

The paraphrast enlarges on these words of Confucius, thus: "Men and Kwei, or visible and invisible beings, are the same. The way in which to serve the Kwei Shins, is precisely the way in which we ought to serve our fellow-men." Nan-heen observes, on the words Kwei Shin, that "when taken together that which advances, and is inscrutable in its approach is the Shin: while that which departs and does not return is the Kwei. Speaking of them separately, then whatsoever in heaven, earth, hills, rivers, wind and thunder can be connected by K'he, or spirit, is universally called Shin; while ancestors and deceased parents, who are sacrificed to in the ancestral temple, are all called Kwei. Using these words with reference to men and things, then that which

collects and lives is the Shin, while that which scatters and dies is the Kwei. Using the words with reference to the human body, then the 魂 hwăn, soul, and 氣 k'he, spirit, constitute the Shin, while the 魄 pih, *anima*, and the 體 t'he, substance constitute the Kwei."

Here we have a brief, but comprehensive description of the Kwei Shins, in which they are characterized by that advancing and receding, expanding and contracting feature which is exhibited in the etymology of the words: in explaining which, whether with reference to the economy of nature, the invisible world, or the human frame, the Chinese author uses only such terms, as are connected with spirit. Shewing that the prevailing idea in his mind was that Kwei Shin meant spirit, or spiritual energy.

In the Le-ke, 2d sect. 51st page, there is a reference to the practice of calling back the souls of the departed, where it is said that, "men's looking for their deceased parents to return from the invisible world, shews that they understood the method of seeking after the Kwei Shins." A commentator says, that "when they called back the *anima*, they expected that the 魂神 hwăn shin, soul would come from the invisible world, which was the method of seeking after the Kwei Shins." The paraphrase says, that "the invisible world is the habitation of the Kwei Shins; they expected the 魂氣 hwăn k'he, soul and spirit (of their parents) to return from the unseen world, therefore it is said they looked for them to come back from the invisible regions." Here the identity of the Kwei Shins with souls and spirits is too strong to be denied, the terms in fact being used interchangeably, as importing the same thing.

In the 樂記 Yō-ke section of the Le-ke, page 25, a commentator gives this explanation of 神明 Shin ming, usually rendered "spiritual intelligences:" he says, "that which is 感 kan, capable of being influenced, and 應 ying, answers, in 不測 pih ts'ih, an incomprehensible manner, is called 神 Shin, a spirit; and that which is 虛 heu, evanescent and 靈 ling, spiritual, 不昧 pih mei, without obscurity, is called 明 ming, an intelligence."

The paraphrast on this passage says, "when we see the 精 tsing, grosser fluid or substance which belongs to the inferior principle, attaching itself to the 氣 k'he, breath or spirit, which belongs to the superior principle of nature, uniting and congealing, collecting and completing the forms

of things, we recognize the production of the superior principle. But when the soul and spirit quit the *anima* and substance, and suddenly wandering abroad, bring about the change of things, we recognize the transformation of the inferior principle."

Choo-foo-tsze, remarking on this passage says, "with regard to man, his 精 *tsing*, grosser fluid or substance is the *anima*, which constitutes the fulness of the Kwei; and his 氣 *k'he*, breath or spirit, is the soul, which constitutes the fulness of the Shin. When the substance and the spirit combine to form things, what things are there divested of the Kwei Shins? but when the soul wanders, a change takes place; whereupon the *anima* descends."

He goes on to say, "the Kwei Shin is nothing more than the 氣 *k'he*, breath or spirit; that which contracts and expands, recedes and advances is this 氣 *k'he*, spirit. Between heaven and earth, there is nothing but this 氣 *k'he*, spirit. The 氣 *k'he* spirit of man is constantly and uninterruptedly in connection with the 氣 *k'he* spirit of heaven and earth: only men do not perceive it; no sooner does an emotion arise in the mind, than it communicates itself to the spirit or spiritual energy, and thus influences this something that contracts and expands, advances and recedes."

When one asked, whether the Kwei Shin was not the 氣 *k'he* breath or vital energy? Choo-foo-tsze replied, It is some thing like the 神靈 *Shin ling*, spirit residing in this 氣 *k'he*, vital energy.

One asked, whether what is called the Kwei Shin in heaven and earth is the same with what is denominated the soul and the *anima* in man? To which Choo replied, "the soul and *anima* are predicated of men when they die; whilst alive these same principles are called 精 *tsing*, substance, and 氣 *k'he*, spirit. That which heaven and earth possess in common with man, is of the same kind, and is called the Kwei Shin. The soul of the inferior principle of nature is the Shin, and the *anima* of the inferior principle of nature is the Kwei: the Kwei is the 靈 *ling*, spirit of the inferior, and Shin is the 靈 *ling*, spirit of the superior principle."

One Lew-she said, when living things are produced, there is not one of them divested of the 氣 *k'he*, spirit or breath, which is the fulness of the Shin; nor is there one of

them destitute of the 魄 p'hi, *anima*, which is the fulness of the Kwei; thus man is the conjunction of the Kwei and Shin; or as Morrison has rendered it, "the union of figure and spirit." See his Dictionary, Part 1, vol. 1, page 59.

From all the above, and much more that might be quoted, we gather that the Kwei Shin in man refers to his 精 tsing, animal fluid or substance and 氣 k'he, breath or spirit, which while men are alive are thus denominated, but after death, the one ascending becomes the Shin, and the other descending the Kwei. The inference therefore is, that the Kwei Shin, but especially the Shin, with regard to man, means his spirit or spiritual energy.

We quote, as corroborative of the views of Shin elicited above, the following passage from the Taou-tih-king.

"When a man can bring into subjection his 魄 p'hih *anima*, or sensitive soul, holding fast at the same time the oneness (of his spiritual nature,) he perhaps may be able to preserve them from separation." The Commentator on this passage remarks, "that which makes the 魄 p'hih, *anima* or sensitive soul, differ from the 魂 hwān, rational soul, is that the *anima* is 物 wūh, matter, and the soul is 神 Shin, spirit." Then after quoting the preceding passage from the Book of Diagrams, the Commentator says, "the *anima* is matter, therefore it is mixed and disposed to settle; the soul is 神 Shin, spirit, therefore it is single and capable of change." Here we have the most distinct evidence, that Shin means spirit in opposition to matter, and that it corresponds to the human soul.

A writer in the work called 本義匯參 Pun e hwae tsan, commenting on the 2d section of the 16th chapter of the Chung-yung, has the following remark, "萬物之生莫不有氣, 氣也者神之盛也, 莫不有魄, 魄也者鬼之盛也, wan wūh che sāng mō pūh yew k'he, k'he yay chay shin che shing yay, mō pūh yew p'hih, p'hih yay chay kwei che shing yay, in the production of all things, there is nothing divested of this 氣 k'he, breath or spirit, which spirit is the fulness of the Shin; so also there is nothing divested of 魄 p'hih, *anima*, which *anima* is the fulness of the Kwei." Here the writer extends the idea of the breath or spirit, combined with the *anima* or essence, from men to the myriad of things: contrasting at the same time the spirit of the finer portion with the *anima* of the grosser portion, and asserting that they severally constitute

the fulness of the Kwei Shins. From which we may gather something of the way in which the Chinese passed over from the Kwei Shin of the human body to the Kwei Shin of nature ; and that this idea of 氣 k'he, spirit, and 魄 p'hīh, anima, pervading nature, as well as the human frame, was the link which combined these things together in their imaginations. As therefore the spirit and anima in man are identical with the Kwei Shin, or manes and spirit, when passed into the invisible world ; so the spirit and anima possessed by every living thing at the commencement of its being, were supposed to constitute the fulness of the Kwei, and the fulness of the Shin in nature. The conclusion we draw from this is, that the Kwei Shin in nature means the spirit that dwells in nature, as the Kwei Shin of a deceased man means the spirit that dwells in man. The word therefore signifies spirit in both cases, and will be fully represented by that term in our language. Nan-hēn, as we have seen considers them all as of one class ; viewing the Kwei Shins unitedly, then that which advances is the Shin, while that which recedes is the Kwei. But viewing them separately, then whatever in heaven or earth has a 氣 k'he spirit passing through it, connecting it with the other parts of nature, is called Shin, while the manes of ancestors are called Kwei. With reference to man, the soul and spirit constitute the Shin, while the anima and grosser substance are characterized as the Kwei. Spirit, therefore, is the prevailing idea attached by the Chinese to the word Shin, whether viewed in the cosmogony of nature, or in the constitution of man. We know that the soul of man is spirit, which the Chinese tell us constitute the Shin ; they also tell us, that the soul of the principle of nature is the fulness of the Shin ; we therefore argue, that the word in the latter case means spirit likewise ; the fact is, that which is called Kwei Shin in heaven and earth, is the same with what is denominated soul and spirit of man.

We may here refer again to the meaning of the Shin and Kwei, given in the dictionary, as being the soul of the superior and the anima of the inferior principles of nature, and that the expanding of the 氣 k'he, breath of nature, constitutes the Shin, while the contracting thereof is to be regarded as the Kwei ; shewing that with respect to nature, as well as man, the words are to be understood in the sense of spirit, or something similar thereto.

To shew that the word 神 Shin, with reference to man, has the meaning of spirit, we shall quote a number of examples from the 五車韻瑞 Woo keu yun suy, and

other sources. **精神** 'Tsing shin, is a well-known phrase for the animal spirits; as may be seen by a reference to Morrison, *passim*. The same characters reversed **神精** shin tsing, mean idea, sentiment; **神昏** shin hwän, signifies the mind beclouded; **神旺** shin wang, the spirits exhilarated; **養神** yang shin, to nourish one's spirits; **勞神** laou shin, to harrass one's spirits; **娛神** yu shin, to exhilarate one's spirits; **怡神** e shin, to delight one's spirits; **損神** sun shin, to injure one's spirits; **守神** show shin, and **抱神** paou shin, to keep up one's spirits; **費神** fei shin, to exhaust one's spirits; **練神** lëen shin, to exercise the spirit; **傷神** shang shin, to wound one's spirit; **寧神** ning shin, to compose one's spirit; **潛神** tsin shin, the spirit plunged in meditation; **凝神** ying shin, to settle one's spirit; **釋神** shih shin, to relieve one's spirit; **駭神** hae shin, to disturb one's spirit; **留神** lew shin, to detain one's spirit; **出神** ch'hüh shin, and **神馳** shin che, to allow one's mind to wander; **存神** tsun shin, to preserve one's spirit; **心之神明** sin che shin ming, means the intelligence of the mind; **眼神** yen shin, the spirit or vivacity of the eye; **詩神** she shin, the spirit of poetry; **酒亂神** tsew lwan shin, wine disturbs the spirit; **聚精會神** tseu tsing hwuy shin, to collect and gather one's spirits; **官止神行** kwan che shin hing, though the members stop, the mind goes on; **神交** shin keaou, communion of spirits; **氣合于神** k'he hō yu shin, the breath united with the spirit; **筆有神** peih yew shin, to manifest spirit in one's style of writing; **錢可通神** tsëen k'ho t'hung shin, money can penetrate the spirit; **神童** shin tung, an intelligent youth; **神色不變** shin sīh pūh pëen, his spirit and countenance did not change: compared with **神色泰然** shin sīh t'hae jen, "he preserved his spirit and countenance in great composure." Morrison. The following are all from the same author: **心領神會** sin ling shin hwuy, to comprehend in the mind. **手神灑灑** fung shin seaou sha, a high degree of ease and gaiety; **人神** jin shin, man's spirit; **在人之靈神** tsae jin che ling shin, the

intelligent spirit in man; **聽講要存神細聽** t'hing k'ang yao tsun shin se t'hing, when listening to the master's explanations, the scholar must keep his soul or spirit from wandering; **令人心散神飛** ling jin sin san shin fai, to cause a man's mind to be dispersed, and his spirit to fly away from its proper place; **精神健強** tsing shin k'een k'ang, strong constitution and good spirits; **精神元氣** tsing shin yuen k'he, animal spirits and good temperament; **凡精神所及處皆力** fan tsing shin so keih ch'hoo keae leth, all parts to which the animal spirit extends its influence are said to have strength; **氣化** k'he hwa, and **神化** shin hwa, mean aerial transformations; **留神於此** lew shin yu tsze, keep your mind on this; **神明** shin ming, spiritual intelligence; **養精神** yang tsing shin, nurse your animal spirits; **流通精神** lew t'hung tsing shin, cause the animal spirits to flow and circulate; **魄人陰神** p'ih jin yin shin, p'ih is man's yin spirit; **魄附陰之靈** p'ih foo yin che ling, p'ih is the spirit attached to the material form of man; **魄人之精爽** p'ih jin che tsing shwang, p'ih is the animal spirit which gives hilarity; **心藏神** sin chwang shin, the heart contains the human spirit; **機神相貫** ke shin s'ang kwan, let the impulse and spirit of the composition be uninterrupted; **蓋題之精神多在虛字也** kae te che tsing shin to tsae heu tsze yay, for the essence and spirit of the composition often (or much) consist in the particles; **題中精神血脉處學者須先認得明白** te chung tsing shin heu m'ih ch'hoo li'ö chay seu s'eu jin t'ih ming p'ih, the spirit and vein of the theme must, in the first place, be by the student clearly understood; **古文聳動人精神者莫如國策** koo wän tsung tung jin tsing shin chay mö joo kwö ts'ih, for rousing men's energies and spirits, no ancient writings were equal to the (discourses on) national politics; **太飽傷神** t'hae paou shang shin, repletion (in eating) hurts the animal spirits."

In addition to the above phrases, we may refer again to what we have advanced in the former part of this paper, regarding the **神** shin of Te approaching and retiring, **享** shang and enjoying the sacrifice, on the occasion of the sacrifices at the winter solstice; as well as what we

have observed respecting the 神 Shin of Wān-wang ascending and descending in the presence of the Supremes, in the realms above; from which we have argued, that Shin in such cases cannot mean the divinity, but must mean the spirit of Tā, and the spirit of Wān-wang, respectively. But it will be perhaps objected, that all these refer merely to Shin as an adjunct of a being, while all instances of the application of Shin, to be of any avail in the present argument, must refer to its use in the concrete. To this we reply, that the meaning of the word Shin, when it refers to a being or beings, is the very point in discussion; one party affirming that it means spirit, and the other maintaining that it means God. The best way to determine, therefore, what is the meaning of the term in the concrete, will be to ascertain its signification in the abstract: this we think we have done by the appeal to native dictionaries, and by the quotations we have made from native authors. In most if not all of these, it is capable of the clearest proof that Shin cannot mean divinity, but that it does mean spirit, or spirituality; particularly in those instances where reference is made to the human constitution. It would appear also, from the terms employed when speaking of man being the same as those which are used when treating on cosmogony, that the process of thought in the mind of the Chinese writers was from themselves to the world around them; particularly as the terms suit the constitution of man better than they do that of nature; as therefore soul and mind, which are the original terms employed, undoubtedly mean spirit, so we may argue that the words Kwei and Shin, which are explained by these, mean spirit also. If this be so; if the Kwei is the soul of their inferior, and Shin the soul of the superior principle of nature; just as Shin, when applied to man while living, invariably refers to his mind and spirit, and when dead to his soul and manes, and thus both have a spiritual signification in the abstract, we must conclude that the words bear a similar meaning in the concrete. Should it be still contended, that the Chinese have used the words in one way in the abstract, and in another way in the concrete, we can only say, that such would be contrary to all the analogy of language, and to all the known habits of the human mind. The words spirit and divinity are both of them concrete and abstract, and supposing that we knew the meaning of them in the abstract respectively, it would be perfectly allowable for us to infer the concrete therefrom; but it would not be proper for us to confound them, or to substitute the one for the other. A being whose chief characteristic was spirituality, we should

call a spirit, but we should not call him a divinity; so also were another being proposed for our consideration, whose chief characteristic was divinity, we should thence infer that he was a divinity, to express which the word spirit would not be an adequate term. The two ideas are perfectly distinct, and we ought not to make either of them mean that in the concrete, which they do not import in the abstract.

We are not, however, left without evidence, that Shin and Kwei in the concrete mean spirit: as far as the Kwei is concerned, we know that the most frequent application of it is to the manes of departed individuals, which are certainly spirits, and viewed as a class of separate intelligences, they must be considered concrete. When a person is dead and exists only as a spirit, we can hardly say that his manes is an abstract quality. These manes are in many instances called Shins as well as Kweis, and the worship of the common people, according to the Confucian system is paid to the manes of the dead only.

But the question recurs, are the 神 Shins and the 祇 K'hes, when viewed in the concrete to be considered as spirits or gods: we conceive that the proofs which we have already brought that Shin in the abstract means spirit, are sufficient to warrant us in inferring that Shin in the concrete means spirit likewise. We shall, however, adduce a few more.

In the 郊特性 Keaou-t'ih-sing section of the Lë-ke, we have a reference to the performance by the villagers of the 湯 shang, ceremony, which the commentators say, was the same with that called 難 no, the expelling of 驗鬼 kēang kwei, hurtful spirits, and 疫氣 yūh k'he, noxious influences, which the villagers wished to drive away from every house; when they came to the dwelling of Confucius, he did not forbid the ceremony, but fearing lest the 神 shins, spirits, or manes of the ancestral temple, should be disturbed thereby, he arrayed himself in his court-dress, and stood on the eastern steps of the ancestral temple, in order to preserve in peace the 神 shin, spirits who dwelt there; wishing the 神 shin, spirits to confide in him and rest contented. According to the Book of Rites, a great officer should put on his court-dress, in order to sacrifice; therefore, Confucius arrayed himself in this robe, that he might afford the 神 Shin, spirits something to rely on. Kang-he says, under the word 難 no, that the ceremonies for 難神 no shin, exorcising spirits were of twelve kinds, and were used for the purpose of 遣凶惡 c'huy heung gō, expelling evil

and pernicious influences. From which it appears, that the 鬼 kwei, exorcised on the occasion were evil spirits, and that they were also called 神 Shins, on account of their spiritual nature. That they belonged to the class of spirits, is also evident from the concern manifested by the sage, lest the 神 Shins (or spirits) of the ancestral temple should be disturbed by the above-mentioned services. The Kweis being spirits, the Shins were spirits likewise, though the former referred to on this occasion were evil, and the latter good.

In the Le-ke, book 4, page 49, we have an account of the services performed by the ancients towards the Kwei Shins; when men are said to have recited their supplications and pronounced their blessings, in order to bring down the 上神 shang Shins of the upper world, together with (the manes of) their first ancestors. The commentator tells us, that "the Shins of the upper world refer to the 天神 T'hëen Shins." Another commentator says, that "上神謂在上精魂之神 shang shin wei tsae shang tsing hwän che shin, the Shins of the upper world are the Shins of the ethereal souls that are above;" and again, "指其精氣謂之上神, 指其七親謂之先祖 che ke tsing k'he wei che shang shin, che ke tseih tsin wei che sën tsoo, referring to the pure spirit they use the term Shins of the upper world, and with reference to the seven grades of predecessors, they employ the term first ancestors." Here the phrase "Shins of the upper world" is evidently used in the sense of spirits.

In the same book, page 46, speaking of "arranging the ceremonies according to the contractings and expandings of the Kwei Shins," a commentator says, "鬼者精魂所歸, 神者引物而出, 謂祖廟山川五祀之屬 kwei chay tsing hwän so kwei, shin chay yin wü urh ch'hüh, wei tsoo meau san chuen woo sze-che shüh, the Kwei signifies that to which the soul reverts, and the Shin that which leads out things; both are spoken of with reference to (the spirits of) the ancestral temple, the hills and rivers, the five parts of the house, and such like."

In the 雲漢 Yun-han section of the Book of Odes, we have a reference to the 魃 pō, demon of drought, who is called by the commentator 旱神 han shin, the spirit of drought. These imaginary beings are thus described by another

commentator in the Imperial edition of the classics, (who quotes the 神異經 Shin-e-king, classic on spirits and prodigies) thus: "To the south, there is a race of men, about two or three feet high, with naked bodies, and eyes in the crown of their heads, who move as swift as the winds, and are called 魃 pō; whenever they are observed, the country is visited with a great drought; some call them 旱母 han moo, the mother of drought; for they are 鬼魅之物 kwei me che wih, devilish and monstrous things." Here it is evident that the word Shin is used in the concrete, and as clear that it does not refer to gods but to spirits; and, like our word spirit in English, is capable of being employed to signify invisible intelligences both good and bad.

Kang-he, under the word 魅 me, says, that "the 魍魅 che me are produced by 異氣 e-k'he, unusual vapours of the hills and rivers, and are injurious to men." He says also that they are "monstrous hobgoblins, with human faces and beasts' bodies, having four legs, and much addicted to deceiving people." Morrison says, that 魅 me, is an unnatural monster, demon, fairy or elf, that proceeds from mountains, to frighten and injure human beings; described as having a human face, the body of a brute, with four feet, and delighting in seducing or tempting mankind." It will be seen that the word Shin is used in the quotation from the Odes in the concrete; and that its signification is that of a spirit of a malevolent kind; those who persist in translating the word Shin, when used in the concrete, by god or gods, will find some difficulty here, as the attributes ascribed to the being referred to in this connection, are not those of a god but those of a spirit, which may be either good or bad, human or divine, according to the connection in which it is found: thus corresponding in every respect to the word spirit in western languages.

In the 左傳 Tso-chuen, we have a reference to the Kwei Shins as distinguished into 神 Shin and 姦 keen, or regular and irregular spirits. The latter are described as 螭魅罔兩 le-mei-wang-läng; 螭 le, which the commentator tells us are 山神 san shin, mountainous Shins, with beast's bodies; 魅 mei, he says, are strange appearances, and 罔兩 wang läng are 水神 shwuy Shin, water Shins. The whole are described by Morrison as "superhuman and monstrous appearances of an infernal or diabolical nature; mountain selves; malevolent and diabolical spirits." Here it

is plain that the term Shin is used in the concrete, and refers not only to spirits, but to spiritual beings of a mischievous kind; affording another evidence that we have not mistaken the meaning of the word Shin, in translating it spirit, because it is applicable to good and bad spirits, with those of heaven and those of earth. Certain it is, that Shin, though in the concrete here, cannot be understood in the sense of God.

In the 周禮 Chow-le, sect. 3, page 1, The great Baron is appointed "to attend to the ceremonies used towards the celestial Shins, the terrestrial K'hes and the human Kweis." A commentator in explaining these terms, says, that "those which belong to heaven are called Shins, because they are the most mysterious of all things, and invisible." Here the attributes ascribed to the Shins, viz. that of being mysterious and invisible, are characteristic of spirits and not distinctive of divinity.*

In the Chow-le, sect. 5, page 27, one is said to be charged with expelling 水蟲 shwuy chung, water insects, which are called 狐蜮 hoo hwō, a kind of devil (Morrison), "for exorcising which he used an earthen-ware drum, and a fire-stone stick, as if he wished to kill the 神 Shin," and when these means prove ineffectual, and it appeared that "some 妖神 yaou Shin, mischievous Shins, had got possession of

* In the works of Choo-foo-tze, sect. 51, referring to the above passage, we have the following remark: "those which belong to heaven are called Shins, because they continually flow and move about without cessation, therefore the word Shin is especially applied to them: but men also have their Shins; only while these are still attached to the body, are they called Shins; after their dispersion they are called Kweis."

Further on, he observes, "Those connected with heaven and earth are called Shins and K'hes, which are the approachings of the 氣 k'he, spiritual energy; while those belonging to men are called Kweis, which are the recedings of the said energy."

In the same section, in reply to a question as to the meaning of the words above quoted from the Chow-le, Choo-foo-tze says, "This is to distinguish those who possess the pure and clear part of the spirit of nature as the Shins; such as the sun, moon, and stars, which change and revolve in an inscrutable manner: 祇 K'he, means to point out, and alludes to anything that has traces which are discernible, such as the hills and rivers, grass and trees; which are in some measure more distinct than the heavenly bodies: as to men, when dead (their spirits) are called Kweis." Here it will be seen, that the above definition of the Shin, contains in it more the idea of spirit than divinity.

the place," he was "to take a beam of elm, with a cross piece of ivory, and sink these in the water, when the 神 Shin would die." Here it is plain that Shin is to be understood in the sense of a malevolent spirit, and not a god.

In the next sentence, an officer is appointed to shoot the infelicitous birds, and animals of ill omen, who could be heard but not seen; for this purpose he was to take a particular bow, and fire at these monsters in the night season; but if there was any 妖神 yaou shin, mischievous Shins, possessing these infelicitous birds and beasts, he was to shoot at them with another kind of bow. In all this we see, that Shin is to be understood in the concrete likewise, in the sense of a ghost or hobgoblin, but not in that of a divinity.

In the 左傳 Tso chuen, in the chapter giving an account of the 7th year of 昭公 Chaou kung, one asked 子產 Tsze-san, whether 伯有 Pih yew was able to become a 鬼 kwei, sprite? To which Tsze-san replied, in the affirmative: adding the following exposition of the principle referred to.

"When men are born, and first transformed, (the matter thus produced) is called the 魄 p'hīh, anima or grosser substance." Upon which the Commentator remarks, that "the 魄 p'hīh, anima or grosser substance, refers to the 形 hing, outward form; adding, that at the first production of a man, a form appears; and this outward form of the 神 Shin, spirit, is called the 魄 p'hīh, anima or grosser substance; this refers to the man at the commencement of life." Tsze-san continues his remarks, "After men have been born some time, the 陽 yang, superior or moving part of the 魄 p'hīh, anima, is called the 魂 hwān, soul." Whereupon the commentator observes, "The 魄 p'hīh anima belongs to stillness, and principally consists of stillness: but as soon as stillness begets motion, that constitutes the 陽 yang, superior or moving part (of the anima.) The 陽 yang, superior part of the 魄 p'hīh, anima, is the 氣 k'he, spiritual energy; and the spiritual energy of the 神 Shin, spirit, is called the 魂 hwān, soul. This refers to the man some time after he has been born." Tsze-san goes on with his remarks, "When the influence of circumstances is subtle and abundant, then both the soul anima become vigorous." The Commentator here

states, "That a man's station, has a great effect upon his 氣 k'he, spiritual energies, through the influence of which the 魂 hwân, soul becomes vigorous; and his nutriment has a great effect upon the 體 t'he, substance of his body, through the influence of which his 魄 p'hîh, anima becomes vigorous." Tsze-san further observes, "hence it is, that when a man possesses sublimity and brightness, he passes over to the state of 神明 shin ming, spirituality and intelligence." The Commentator explains this by saying, that "subtility refers to the period when the 神 shin, spirit is not yet displayed; and brightness to the period when the 神 shin, spirit is not harmonized; thus it is, that when subtilities are accumulated, they bring a man to the state of a 神 shin, spiritual being, and when brightness is accumulated, it brings him to the state of 明 ming, an intelligent being." Tsze-san closes by saying, "That when any common man or woman is put to a violent death, the soul and anima are capable of attaching themselves to people, and thus becoming a mischievous sprite."

The subject of discourse in the above extract, is the spirit of a murdered man which was supposed to have become a ghost, and haunted people. The philosopher, who was consulted on the subject, admitted that such an event might happen, because the usual course of things was departed from; the man had not been suffered to live out his days, nor to nourish his spiritual energies, until he had arrived at the condition of a spiritual and intelligent being. The ideas generally entertained by the Chinese, on the subject of the human spirit and spiritual beings, are briefly but fully set forth in this extract. First, at the birth of a man, there is the grosser substance or anima, which is the outward form inclosing the inward spirit; after some time, motion or action commences, which constitutes the superior or moving part of the anima: this superior part of the anima forms the spiritual energy, and this spiritual energy of the Shin or spirit, is called the soul. This soul, by nourishment becomes vigorous, and when a man possesses subtilty and brightness, he gradually arrives at the state of spirituality and intelligence, or becomes a spiritual and intelligent being. Thus then, the Shin has its foundation in the 氣 k'he, spiritual energy, and arrives at its perfection in consequence of cultivation. This perfection, however, is not divinity, but spirituality and intelligence: and the Shin at its highest stage of improvement is but a spirit, and not a god.

Deprived of this nourishment, and suddenly cut off, before perfection is attained, it becomes a discontented ghost, and haunts people: in this state, it is still a spirit, but a mischievous one, while its malevolent propensities may be cured, and the soul appeased by sacrifice.

In the works of Choo-foo-tsze, section 51, page 3, we read, that "wind and rain, thunder and dew, the sun and moon, day and night, are the traces of the Kwei Shins; but these are honest Kwei Shins of the open day; with respect to those which are said to whistle about the rafters, and strike against one's breast; these are the depraved (Kwei Shins) of darkness. There are also a kind of Kwei Shins, who on being prayed to, are said to return answers, which are to be ascribed to the same principle; only some are fine and others coarse, some great and others small." Here it is evident, that the Kwei Shins of the second class alluded to are ghosts, and as the Kwei Shins that are prayed to are attributable to the same principle, it is clear, that the latter as well as the former are spirits.

With reference to 神怪 Shin kwae, ghosts and hobgoblins, a number of stories are related of persons who professed to have seen them, whereupon Choo says that he did not entirely discredit their testimony, and when he recollected the monstrous appearances that were depicted on the famous tripods of Yu, he thought that such things might have existed. We merely bring up the subject here, however, to shew that such ghosts were called Shins, in which case the word must be understood as referring to spiritual beings, and not divinities.

Again, speaking of ghosts, Choo says, "Those who believe in Kwei Shins insist upon it that there are such things in the world, others as confidently deny their existence. These elves obtain some vitiated portion of the spirit of nature, but we have no occasion to be frightened at them. Therefore Confucius did not speak about these monstrous things; not that he denied their existence, but that he did not wish to converse about them."

On the 21st page, speaking of the discontented ghosts of persons who have been murdered appearing at times and annoying people, the philosopher remarks, that "the sages all die contentedly, and no one ever heard of their becoming 神怪 Shin kwae, ghosts and hobgoblins. Hwang-te, for instance, with Yaou and Shun, did not become 靈怪 ling kwae, sprites and elves after their death." Here the words Shin kwae, and ling kwae, are used interchangeably, shewing

that they both refer to the same thing, viz. spiritual, and not divine beings.

On the 22d page, one asked, "whether the Kwei Shins were not 精氣 tsing k'he, spirits and 魂魄 hwān pih, souls? To which the philosopher replied, "Certainly; take for instance the human body; we are able to laugh and talk, and possess a certain amount of knowledge and intelligence: how is this brought about? So also in the empty air, winds and rains suddenly occur, and as suddenly thunder and lightning; how are these things effected? It is all to be ascribed to the mutual action of the superior and inferior principles of nature, and to the Kwei Shins." Here we have an express declaration of the philosopher that the Kwei Shins are souls and spirits, illustrated by a reference to the actions of the human body, as well as the phenomena of nature, which are equally ascribed to the Kwei Shins; the effects being produced in the first instance by the souls of men, and in the latter by the spirits of nature. The Kwei Shins, therefore, are spirits and not divinities.

In a work called 子史精華 Tsze sze tsing hwa, the Essepe of the Philosophers and Historians, we have a chapter on the Kwei Shins, from which we extract the following remarks of 管子 Kwan-tsze, who lived prior to Confucius, and was the prime minister of Hwan, the duke of Tse, at one time the lord paramount of the empire. Some dragons were said to have fought in a certain part of the country, when Kwan-tsze came to inform the prince of it, saying, "Heaven sends its messengers to the borders of your country: I propose that you immediately direct the great officers to order the attendants to put on black clothes, that they may be like these celestial messengers." When the people of the empire heard of this measure, they said, "How inscrutably wise is this Hwan, the duke of Tse! Heaven sends its messengers to visit his borders, and without the necessity of raising troops, eight princes of the empire (on hearing of the visit of the celestial messengers) come to pay their court to the duke. This is indeed taking advantage of Heaven's majestic display, to influence the whole empire to submission." Thus, adds the philosopher, "The wise serve themselves of the Kwei Shins, (or spirits) while the simple believe them." Here the dragons, who are termed celestial messengers, or angels, are also called Kwei Shins (or spirits.)

In another place, Kwan-tsze observes, "that underneath the ground, in a certain region, there was one 清商 Tsing shang, who is described as a 神怪 Shin kwae, spiritual

monstrosity (or fairy,) on which account water was not to be obtained there."

Further on we read, that "the duke Hwan was once on an expedition to the north; when, approaching the valley of Pe-urh, he stopped and saw something before him; he drew his bow and was about to shoot; but before he let fly, he asked his attendants, Is that a man which I see before me? On the attendants replying, that they saw nothing; the duke continued, Our expedition will certainly be unsuccessful! I feel a great doubt and misgiving; for I see before me a man only a foot high, but perfect in all his parts; he wears a hat, and holds up his clothes on the right side, while he runs swiftly before the horse; our expedition will certainly be unsuccessful! I am in a great doubt: how can it be that there are men so small as that? Kwan-tsze then said, I have heard that the 神 Shin, spirit of the Täng hill, called Yu-urh, is only a foot high, and perfect in all his parts. When a lord paramount of the empire flourishes, then the 神 Shin, spirit of the Täng hill appears; his running swiftly before the horse, as you describe, intimates that he wishes to lead the way; his holding up his clothes, shews that there is a river in front of us; and his doing this on the right side, intimates that we must cross over a little to the right. When they came to the river of Pe-urh, the guides informed them, that crossing over to the left, the water would be up to their caps, but on crossing to the right, it would only reach to their knees. Thus they crossed to the right, and got safely over." From the above we perceive, that the object which the Duke thought he saw was a sort of mountain fairy, here called a Shin or spirit.

Then follows an extract from the writings of 墨子 Míh-tsze, who lived shortly after the time of Confucius, to the following effect: "The Kweis (spirits) spoken of in ancient and modern times are simply these; there are for instance, the 天鬼 t'heen kwei, celestial kweis (or spirits,) there are also the Kwei Shins (or spirits) of hills and rivers, and there are those which result from human beings dying, and becoming Kweis (or spirits)." In this passage, the spirits of heaven, and the manes of the dead, are alike called Kweis.

We have then an extract from the writings of 烈子 Lëä-tsze, as follows: "The 精神 tsing shin, animal spirits of man belong to heaven, and his bones to earth; that which belongs to heaven is pure, and capable of dispersing; that which belongs to earth is muddy, and disposed to collect:

when the 精神 tsing shin, spirit and the body separate, each reverts to its true place, hence this is called 鬼 kwei, because Kwei means to revert, and return to its own dwelling. The Book of Hwang-te says, "When the spirit enters the door, the bones return to their original place; what then is left of us?" Here 精神 tsing shin is evidently used for the human spirit, in distinction from the body.

The same philosopher tells us, that a certain stupid old man, once took it into his head to remove a mountain, by carrying the earth into the sea; and when remonstrated with, as to the impracticability of the undertaking, he replied, "the mountain never grows, but my posterity will increase, without intermission; why then should you doubt, but that the mountain will be one day levelled?" The Shin (spirit) of Tsaou-shay hearing this, became alarmed at the man's incessant perseverance, and announced the matter to 帝 the Supreme: the Supreme being moved by the sincerity of the man, ordered 夸 Kwa and 娥 Gno (spirits,) to take up the mountain and remove it."

In the writings of 楊子 Yang-tsze, we have the following: "One enquired, how it was that in the Chaou country, there were always so many Shins (spirits) appearing? To which the philosopher replied, 神怪 Shin kwae, spirits and hobgoblins are vague and uncertain things; seeming as if they were, and yet as if they were not; therefore the sages forbore to speak of them." Here the word Shin occurs in connection with strange and super-human appearances, it must therefore be understood in the sense of spirit, and be taken in the concrete.

The same philosopher says, "The awe-inspiring character of the 靈場 ling chang, spiritual world is suited to the darkness of night." Upon which the commentator says, "That the spiritual world refers to the awe-inspiring character of the Kwei Shins, which when displayed at night inspires dread." Here the term Kwei Shins is used to explain the spiritual world, to which the darkness of night is said to be best adapted; the most suitable word to express the Kwei Shin in this connection therefore is spirit, taken in the concrete.

淮南子 Hwae-nan-tsze says, "when any have met with a violent death, their Kwei, (ghost) is disturbed, but after a time, their Shin (spirit) is allayed." Here both Kwei and Shin, are used for the human spirit after death, in the sense of ghost and spirit.

The same writer says, "It is a common saying, that when people sleep in a door-way, the Kwei Shins (spirits) tread on their heads. But if the Kwei Shins (spirits) be original transformations (or existences), they would not have to wait for doors and windows to be opened, in order to enter, for they go out and in as it were upon empty nothingness ; thus they do not tread at all. Now doors and windows are the outlets through which wind and air come and go ; while wind and air are the mutual coming in contact of the superior and inferior principles of nature ; when they part asunder they cause sickness : the common people, however, ascribe these effects to the Kwei Shins (spirits) in order to explain them." The philosopher here does not seem to have much faith in spirits, and would rather ascribe the effects alluded to, to their natural causes. Supposing spirits to exist, however, he describes them in terms that suit the nature of spiritual rather than that of divine beings.

In the Book of the 晉 Tsin dynasty, we have the following relation : " One 阮瞻 Yuen-chen is spoken of, who maintained that there were no Kwei Shins (spirits), and no one was able to argue him down ; because he always maintained that the principle of order was sufficient to account for everything in the visible and invisible worlds. One day a stranger called upon him ; after announcing his name, and talking about the weather, they begin to converse about the principle of order ; the stranger was very clever in argument, but Chen having conversed with him for some time about the affair of the Kwei Shins (spirits) reduced his antagonist to great straits ; the stranger being overcome in argument, became angry, and said, " The Kwei Shins (spirits) have been universally maintained by sages and philosophers throughout all ages, and how is it that you alone deny their existence ? for even I, your servant, am a Kwei, (spirit) : whereupon he assumed another form, and immediately vanished." Here we have the word Kwei in the sense of spirit or ghost, and used synonymously with the term Kwei Shin, immediately preceding, in a passage where the whole discourse is evidently about the existence of spirits.

One 王充 Wang-k'hîh has said, " That the Kweis existing between heaven and earth, are not all produced from the 精神 tsing shin, animal spirits of dead men, but are in many instances the results of our imagination dwelling on such subjects." He also says, that " the heavens display their forms on high, (i. e. the sun, moon, and stars,) the 氣 k'he, spiritual energies of which descend and produce

things; when these spiritual energies harmonize, they nourish life, and when they do not harmonize, they injure and destroy. Originally these forms exist in heaven, and when they descend, their bodies appear on earth; thus it is, that Kweis are seen, which are the result of the spiritual energies of those forms. The forms alluded to are the substances of the stars, which may become men or brutes; thus it is, that sick people (indulging their diseased imaginations) sometimes see, as it were, the bodies of men or brutes."

蔡邕 Tsae-yung, in describing the 疫神 yŭh shin, spirit of pestilence, says, that "the Te 顓頊 Chuen-heŭh had three sons, who went away as soon as they were born, and became Kweis. The first took up his residence in the Yang-tsze-kēang, and became 瘟鬼 wān Kwei, the spirit of pestilence; the second dwelt in the 若水 Jō-shwuy river, and became a 魍魎 wang-lēang, hobgoblin; and the third remains in the holes and corners of human dwellings, and is fond of frightening children." Here the term 疫神 yŭh-shin, is synonymous with 瘟鬼 wān kwei, and both mean the spirit of pestilence: shewing that Shin, taken here in the concrete, must mean spirit.

We have a reference to these pestilential spirits in the Chow-le, which says, that "the 方相氏 Fang-sēang-sho, (or wild looking men of terrific appearance) were to see to it, that they covered themselves with a bear-skin, (in which were four gilt eyes,) being clothed with a black coat and red petticoat, holding in their hands weapons of war, and leading on their attendants, that they might at the proper season search through the dwelling, and drive out (the spirit of) pestilence." Wang-ling-chuen, commenting on this passage, says, that "all the 氣 k'he, spiritual energies of the male and female principles of nature, are at first advantageous; on the completion of their work, they retire; but when they stay they become injurious. The Yuē-ling, section of the Le-ke, directs that in the last month of spring there should be an exorcising at the gate of the city, which is called the finishing of the spiritual energies of spring, lest any of the cold vapours should remain. In the middle of summer, there was an exorcising at the emperor's palace, which was called the extending of the spiritual energies of autumn, lest some of the hot winds of summer should be still concealed. In the last month of winter it was directed, that the officers should perform a general exorcising, which was for the purpose of driving away all the corrupt and pernicious

spiritual energies of the whole year. When these spiritual energies remained, and came in contact with things, they produced calamities and pestilence, in which there were Kwei Shins (or spirits), who inhabited the region between the audible and the spiritual, in order to superintend these matters: therefore they were exorcised in order to drive them away and disperse them, that nothing might remain."

That the Kwei Shins refer to spirits, we may gather from Morrison, who has thus translated the terms in the following sentences: 鬼神之事, 聖人難言之 Kwei shin che le, shing jin nan yau che, as to the doctrine of spirits, the sages spoke of it with difficulty; 鬼神以祥使 kwei shin e tseang she, spirits operate by prodigies; 鬼神體物而不可遺 kwei shin t'he wü urh pü k'ho e, spirits embody material objects and are present with all things: 鬼神 Kwei Shin, he says are spirits in general, and 惡神 gö shin, Morrison calls evil spirits: can we imagine these to be evil gods.

The same writer also frequently interprets Shin, when taken in the concrete, by the word spirit, as in the following quotations from his dictionary; 神降而尸乃食 shin keang urh she nae shih, the spirit descended, and ate of the victim sacrificed: 致其神 che ke shin, (this was done in order to) bring back the spirit; he adds, 神之來光景昭聽無聲視無兆 Shin che lae kwang king chaou, t'hing woo shing she woo chaou, circumstances manifest the advance of spirits, but no voice is heard nor omen seen; 百靈 Pih ling, and 百神 Pih shin, are used interchangeably, shewing that Shin as well as Ling are both synonymous in the concrete.

Some have asserted that, because 神 Shin is said to have a 靈 ling, therefore ling in the case referred to must mean spirit, and Shin in the same connection must signify God; we therefore add another quotation from Morrison, shewing that he had a different idea of the phrase as thus combined: for 神之靈 Shin che ling, he says, means "the intelligence of spirit."

Having quoted Morrison, we will pass on to consider what views have been entertained by other Chinese sinologues, as to the meaning of the word Shin, and in so doing we shall find that they have with united voice, from the earliest period, given to it the meaning of spirit.

The first witness we shall adduce on this point, is De

Guignee who says in his dictionary, that Shin means "Spirit; genius; mind; the more subtile part of matter; the spirit of heaven; that which is excellent and superhuman; a living man; the anima; a man far excelling others; a king; virtue inherent in things, which though not directly perceived by the senses is exhibited in different effects and operations; the inherent force of the superior material principle, and thus synonymous with 魂 hwān; the extension of matter; spirituality." In all the senses above given, the idea of its meaning divinity, or god, is not once suggested. The same author, under the word 祇 k'he, says, that it means "the spirit of earth." Under the character 靈 ling, which is synonymous with 神 Shin, he says that it means, "the mind; the soul; the intellectual power of the soul; whatever excellence exists in things, beyond the power of man to scrutinize, &c." Under 鬼 Kwei, which is the correlative of Shin, De Guignes says, that it means "genius; soul; a dead man; the manes of men; the genii of men; a phantasm; a spirit; a shade; a demon. Kwei Shin, the operative power in matter."

The manuscript Latin Dictionary, under the word Shin, says that it means "spirit; the first active principle of generation; a man whose virtue exceeds the thought of the generality."

Gonzalves, in his Chinese and Portuguese Dictionary, says that Shin means "spirit; mystery;" in which senses he intimates, the phrases 神明 Shin ming, and 神妙 Shin meau, are to be understood. He then quotes "陰陽不測之謂神 yin yang pūh tsih che wei shin, that which is inscrutable in the superior and interior principles of nature is called Shin, mysterious; also 伸者爲神, 屈者爲鬼 shin chay wei shin, keūh chay wei kwei, that which is extended is called Spirit, and that which is contracted is called demon;" he also quotes a verse, "精神到處文章老 tsing shin taou ch'hoo wan chang laou: when a man's animal spirits travel everywhere, his compositions will be mature." In his Portuguese and Chinese Dictionary, on spirit, Gonzalves has 神 shin, 神明 shin ming, 精神 tsing shin; for the human spirit, 人心 jin sin, 神 shin, 人靈 jin ling; for animal spirits, 血氣 heuē k'he, 神氣 shin k'he; for spiritual, 神 shin; 靈 ling; for spirituous, 志氣如神 che k'he joo shin.

Premar, in his list of antitheses, p. 206, gives 神 Shin, spiritus, as opposed to 形 hing, corpus; and among his proverbs, p. 139, he has, “人老無能神老無靈 jin laou woo näng, shin laou woo ling. homo senex nihil potest, spiritus quæ senuit nihil exaudit.” In this latter instance, Shin is undoubtedly concrete, in the sense of a being honoured with religious worship, and yet Premare renders it spirit, and not god. He renders the phrase, p. 126, “瞞神謊鬼 mwan shin hwang kwei, imponere spiritibus:” in which case the word is also concrete. We quote a few more from the same author: “神行而已 Shin hing urh e, mente sola nimirum aguntur. 神明之宅 Shin ming che tsih, spiritus intelligentis domus:” upon which he remarks, “sic appellatur corpus, seu cor carneum, in quo residet anima, quæ vocatur 心 sin.” Again he says, “身與神爲耦 shin yu shin wei gnou, corpus est anima compar.” In another place, Premare presents us with a sentence, in which both 帝 Te and 神 Shin occur. Speaking of a most excellent king, Sun-tsze says, “如是百姓貴之如帝, 高之如天, 親之如父母, 畏之如神明, joo she pih sing kwei che joo te, kaou che joo t’hëen, ts’hin che joo foo moo, wei che joo shin ming, hoc pacto populus eum colit velut ipsum Dominum. illum extollit usque ad cælum, illum amat tanquam patrem et matrem. illum veretur sicut spiritum intelligentem.” Again, we have the two words contrasted, “主之者謂之帝, 妙之者謂之神, choo che chay wei che te, meaoü che chay wei che shin, qui rebus omnibus dominatur, is appellatur Dominus, et qui pulchritudinem illis addit vocatur spiritus” p. 156. We quote again from Premare, “人心其神矣乎 jin sin ke shin e hoo, animus hominis ille annon est spiritus? p. 151. 此先王之教之神也 Tsze sêen wang che keaoü che shin yay, atque is erat priscorum regum docendi spiritualis modus; p. 154. 形天 hing t’hëen, visibile cælum, 神天 Shin t’hëen, spirituale cælum; p. 155. 非天下之至神其孰能與於此 fei t’hëen hëa che che shin, ke shüh näng yu yu tsze, quid istud poterit, nisi sit in to’o mundo maxime spiritualis et intelligens? p. 170. 乃聖乃神, 乃文乃武 Nae shing nae shin, nae wän nae woo, loquitur de eo, qui simul est et sanctus, et spiritus, et pacificus, et bellator. page 180. 至

誠感神則茲有苗 che ching kan shin, shin tsze yew
meaou, summa sinceritas movet spiritum, quanto magis hos
populus miao? 天且弗違而況於人乎況於鬼
神乎 t'heen tsay fuh wei, urh hwang yu jin hoo, hwang
yu kwei shin hoo, cælum non est contrarium, multo minus
homines repugnant, longe minus spiritus adversantur? page
182. 惟天高高在上, 至虛至公, 至神至靈,
wei t'heen kaou kaou tsae shang, che heu che kung, che
shin che ling, solum cælum altissimo velut in solio sursum
est, summe purum, summe justum, summe spirituale, summe
intelligens, page 193; 神遊而已 Shin yew urh e, sola
mente pervenitur." page 245. The author from whom we
have above quoted, has long been looked upon as an
authority in Chinese; there is perhaps no European writer
on the language, who ever equalled him in justness of
apprehension, and in felicity of expression, when commenting
on the Chinese classical writings. It is evident from the
quotations made, (and they are all that we could find on the
subject, in his "Notitia Linguae Sinicæ," extracted from
Chinese authors,) that he had no idea of Shin meaning
divinity or god, and that in his opinion the Shin of classical
writers, is every where to be rendered spirit.

Remusat, in his *Elemens de la Grammaire Chinoise*, page
30, has the following antithesis: "神格人來 Shin k'ih
jin lae, spiritus accedit, homo venit." On page 43, he has
"孝乎鬼神 heaou hoo kwei shin, pius erga genios,
spiritusque." On page 52, 人心其神矣乎 jin sin ke
shia e hoo, hominis intelligentia ea spiritualis! On page 108,
he has "神 Shin, bon genie, 鬼 kwei, mauvais genie, forme
le composé kwei shin (esprit ou genie) en general."

La Charme, in his translation of the Book of Odes, edited
by Julius Mohl, has the following renderings, "神之聽
之 Shin che t'hing che, sic spiritus cum id audiverit." page
120. "神保是格 Shin paou she k'ih, spiritus defensor
adeat dexter." page 122. (This phrase 神保 Shin paou, is
in the next sentence of the Book of Odes, expressed by 靈
保 ling paou, which undoubtedly refers to something
spiritual.) "神嗜飲食 Shin che yin shih, Spiritus
dapes et vinum probavit." page 123. "田祖有神 T'een
tsou yew shin, Spiritus qui agris colendis præest." page 125.
神罔是怨, 神罔是恫. Shin wang she yuen, shin

wang she tung, sic spiritui nullus conquerendi, spiritui nullus ægre ferendi locus erat." page 149. 百神爾至矣 Pih shin urh choo e, spiritus omnes te regem agnoscant et præsidem." page 164. "神之格斯不可度斯 Shin che kih sze, pūh k'ho t'hō sze, Quo se spiritus contulerit, et ubi adsit intine præsens, quis tandem sciat?" page 173.

"恭敬明神宜無悔怒 Kung king ming shin, e woo hwuy noo, Quandoquidem spiritus tanta intelligentia præcellat, et illi tantum honorem tribuerimus, quis iræ et vindictæ relinquitur locus?" page 179. "惟嶽降神 Wei yō kēang shin, Montibus Yō suus est spiritus." page

180. "何神不富 Ho shin pūh foo, Quod spiritus in nos beneficia et opes non conferat;" page 190. "懷柔百神 hwae jow pih shin, In spiritus omnes pius est." page 195.

De Guignes, in his translation of the Shoo-king, has rendered Shin in the following manner: "徧于羣神 pēen yu kenn shin, en général à tout les esprits;" page 14.

"神人以和 Shin jin e ho, les esprits et les hommes seront unis;" page 20. "鬼神其依 Kwei Shin ke e, J' ai les suffrages des Esprits;" page 28. "至誠感神矧斯有

苗 che ching kan shin, chin sze yew meau, Les Esprits se laissent toucher par un cœur sincere, à plus forte raison devons-nous l'esperer d'Yeou-miao;" page 29. "上下神

祇 shang hēa shin k'he, aux Chin et aux Ki supérieurs et inférieurs." Note. "Les Chin et les Ki sont des Esprits. Aujourd'hui les Chin sont les Esprits des vents, des tonnerres; les Ki sont les Esprits des rivières, des montagnes, &c." page 87. "神后 Shin how, l'admirable Heou." page

88. 山川鬼神亦莫不寧 san chuen kwei shin yih mō pūh ning, tout étoit réglé dans les montagnes, dans les rivières, et parmi les Esprits;" page 93. "鬼神無常享

kwei shin woo chang hēang, Les Esprits ne regardent pas toujours de bon œil les cérémonies qu'on leur fait," p. 99.

"慢神 man shin, il ne fit aucun cas des Esprits, p. 101.

"俾作神主 pe tsō shin choo, qu'il vouloit mettre à la tête des affaires qui regardent les Esprits," p. 102. "事神

則難 sze shin ts'ih nan, il n'est pas aisé de servir et d'honorer les Esprits," p. 125. "肅恭神人 sūh kung shin jin, vigilant et respectueux dans les devoirs que vous

rendez aux Esprits et aux Hommes," p. 192. "宗伯肇

邦禮。治神人。和上下 tsung pih chang pang le, che shin jin, ho shang hëa, Le Tsong-pe a soin des cérémonies, a l'Intendance sur ce qui regarde les Esprits et les hommes, et met l'union et l'accord entre ce qui est en haut, et ce qui est en bas." Note. "*L'accord entre le haut et le bas. dénote les prières et les cérémonies pour rendre les Esprits propices.* page 258. But it is unnecessary to quote further from this author, as it appears that in every instance he translates Shin by spirit, and never by God.

Amiot, who is quoted by De Guignes, in the Appendix to his Shoo-king, page 346, says, that "Hwang-te offered sacrifice to the Kwei and Shin, which he translates the superior and inferior spirits; he says further, that Ti-ko rendered homage to the 神 Shin, spirits: Yaôu ordered Shun to sacrifice to Shang-te, and all the 神 Shin, spirits. Shun ordered Pih-yih to fix on particular rites, for honouring 神 Shin, the spirits of heaven, 祇 k'he, those of earth, and 鬼 kwei, the manes of men. The founder of the Hëa dynasty was full of respect for the Kwei Shin; and his successors imitated his example in the worship of spirits. Ching-thang was full of reverence for the superior and inferior 神 shin, spirits. Woo-yih, one of his successors, caused a statue to be made of wood, to which he gave the name of 神 shin, spirit; and caused those who incurred his displeasure to play games with this pretended spirit. This statue, says the commentator, represented a spirit of heaven, and is the first example found in history of a visible representation of a spirit. The last king of this dynasty had no respect nor veneration for heaven, or the 神 shin, spirits: and to punish his impiety Heaven deprived him of the empire. Under the Chow dynasty, the worship of 神 shin, spirits was one of the most essential articles; the spirits who were sacrificed to were the 神 shin, spirits of heaven, the 祇 k'he, spirits of earth, and the 鬼 kwei, manes of men. Besides the sacrifices which were offered to certain spirits in particular, there were others which were offered to spirits in general. Wän and Woo made the worship which they rendered to spirits one of the most essential points in their religion: in heaven, ancestors, and the spirits we have the three objects of their veneration."

Viadelou, among some notices relative to the Book of Diagrams, appended to De Guignes' Shoo-king, page 414, has the following remark, "The Book of Changes treats of spirits, which are sometimes called Kwei Shins, and some-

times Shin alone : one text affirms that all the virtue performed by the Kwei Shins comes from (the science of) numbers ; and another that the sages established their laws by the favour of the spirits." Again, page 419, "the Kwei Shins (spirits) injure the full, and do good to those who are low."

The same writer, in the above work page 433, says, "As regards the term *Shin*, whether standing alone, or compounded with *Kwei Shin*, none of our terms can give it a perfect rendering. If we translate it by the term spirit, it is inadequate; and if by the word *gods*, it goes too far. For the *Shin* of the Chinese is an appellation common to all intelligences, even to that of man. And further, to speak as the Chinese, all rational spirits, i. e. all spirits in which exists the human faculty of understanding, are ordinarily called Shin. What is more, all that animates the body is often called by this name, especially when to the term 神 *Shin* is added that of 精 *tsing*, semen, in order to make of these two terms the *tsing shin*, which is *semen et spiritus rationales*; a mode of speech in common usage to signify the state of a vigorous body, full of the juices, *semine que et spiritibus turgentem*."

P. Martin says, "the Chinese, in all their writings, make mention of good and bad angels, which they call Shin and Kwei."

Frigaut says, that the emperor alone sacrifices to Heaven and earth, while the grandees of the realm offer to all the spirits of the mountains, rivers, &c.

Du Halde, in his 3d vol. page 16, after telling us that the chief object of worship among the Chinese was the Supreme Being, the Lord and chief Sovereign of all things, called Shang-te, says, "that they likewise pay an adoration, but in a subordinate manner, to inferior spirits, depending on the Supreme Being, which according to them preside over cities, rivers, mountains, &c. On the 23d page, speaking of the times of Hwang-te, B. C. 2,620, it is said, that "he increased the pomp and solemnity of the sacrifice offered to Shang-te, but his reign was disturbed by the conspiracy of nine tributary princes, who endeavoured to unhinge the worship of the state, and for the fear of Shang-te, they were desirous of substituting the fear of 神 *Shin*, spirits, and so had recourse to magic and enchantments; they pretended to disturb houses with malignant spirits, and terrified the people with their delusions; the people then assembled in the temple, on the solemn days on which the emperor sacrificed, and demanded that sacrifice should likewise be offered to these spirits."

Julien, in his translation of Mencius, has the following,

“百神享之 pih shin hēang che, centum spiritus grata-
habuerunt, book 2, page 81; 君子所過者 化存者
神 koun tsze so kwo chay hwa, tsun chay shin, id quod
sapiens pervadit mutatur; quia ubi residet, sicut spiritus.
Note. Ubi cumque residet, occulta vi, veluti spiritus, omnes
animos penetrat, movet, atque virtutis igne, etiam inconscios,
inflammatur: book 2, page 190; 聖而不可知之謂神
shing urh pūh k'ho che che wei shin, qui sanctus est, et non
potest percipi, dicitur spiritualis-vir, book 2, p. 231.

The same author, in his *Vindiciæ Sinicæ*, p. 36. says,
此先王之教之神也, tsze sēen wang che keaou che
shin yay, atque is erat priscorum regum docendi spiritualis
modus.” And in his *Exercices Pratiques*, p. 193, he has 百
神 pih shin, à tout les Esprits.

Pauthier, in his *Réponse à l'examen critique*, p. 60, calls
百神 pih shin, tous les esprits.

The Emperor Yung-ching, in a decree which he published,
as quoted by Winterbotham, says, “Some of the principal
officers of our provinces, have given a wrong interpretation
to the meaning of our orders transmitted to them,
regarding the means of preventing the damage occasioned in
the country by destructive insects, and have understood them
in a sense quite different from our intention. They have
erroneously concluded that I have fallen into the ridiculous
error of those, who believe in the *spirits* called Kwei Shins,
as if I imagined that prayers offered up to these intended
beings, could remedy our present afflictions. My meaning,
therefore, is as follows. Between the T'hēen, or Supreme
Being, and man there is a relation, a certain and infallible cor-
respondence, as to what concerns punishments and rewards.
When our plains are desolated by inundation, drought, or
insects, what is the cause of our calamities? they are perhaps
occasioned by the emperor himself, who deviates from the
integrity and justice so necessary to good government. To
bring him back to a sense of duty. To prevent calamities,
there are no means more certain, than to keep a strict watch
over ourselves, to live in fear, and to strive for perfection.
When they tell you to pray and invoke spirits, what do they
mean? It is at most only to implore their mediation, to
represent to T'hēen, Heaven, the sincerity of our respect, and
the fervour of our desires.”

Sir George Staunton, the elder, in his account of Macart-
ney's Embassy, has rendered Luy-shin, “the spirit which
commands thunder.”

The present Sir George Staunton, in his translation of the

Laws of China, has the following renderings: “**凡社稷三川、風雲電雨等神、及聖帝明王忠臣烈士、載在祀典、應合致祭神祇**, fan shay tseih san chuen, fung yun tēn yu tang shin, kēih shing te ming wang, chung chin lēē sze, tsae tsae sze tēn, ying hō che tse shin k'he, the local genii, the genii of the hills, the rivers, the winds, the clouds, and the lightnings, also the ancient holy emperors, enlightened kings, faithful ministers, and illustrious sages, shall all be severally honoured and commemorated by the oblations and other holy rites, which the ritual code prescribes.” “**不當奉祀之神而致祭者杖八十** Pūh tang fung sze che shin urh che tse chay, chang pā shih, any officer of government, who commemorates or performs sacred rites to the honour of any spirit or holy personage, to whom neither honours nor oblations are decreed by the laws of the ritual code, shall be punished with 80 blows.” “**凡私家告天、拜斗、焚燒夜香、燃點天燈七燈、鑿竇神明者杖八十**, Fan sze kēa kaou t'hēn, pae tow, fun shaou yay hēang, jen tēn t'hēn tāng tseih tāng, sēē tūh shin ming chay, chang pā shih, If any private family performs the ceremony of the adoration of heaven and the north star, burning incense for that purpose during the night, lighting the lamps of heaven, and also seven lamps to the north star, it shall be deemed a profanation of those sacred rites, and derogatory to the celestial spirits: the parties concerned therein shall accordingly be punished with 80 blows.” “**凡師巫假降邪神** fan sze woo kēa kēang sēay shin, Magicians who raise evil spirits,” &c. “**凡盜大祀、天神地祇、御用祭器帷帳等物皆斬**, fan taou ta sze, t'hēn shin te k'he, yu yung tse k'he wai chang tāng wūh, keae tsan, All persons guilty of stealing the consecrated oblations offered up by the emperor to the *spirits* of heaven and earth, or any of the sacred utensils, clothes, &c. shall in all cases be beheaded.”

In the translation of the testamentary edict of Kēen-lung, given by Sir George Staunton, in Appendix, No. 1, he has rendered **天神地祇** t'hēn shin te k'he, the spirits of heaven and earth. So also in the translation of the edict issued by Kēa-k'hing, on ascending the throne, (Appendix No. 2.) Sir George has rendered **皇神** Iwang shin, the Imperial spirit, and **聖神** Shing shin, sacred spirit, both which terms were employed by Kēa-k'hing, with allusion to

the soul of his departed progenitor. In Appendix No. 8, Sir George has rendered 聖神 shing shin, by Holy Spirit, where the reference is the same as the preceding.

In the Syrian inscription, 天神 t'hên shin is used for the angels which came to announce the birth of our Saviour. This inscription gives an account of the introduction of Christianity into China a thousand years ago; it is therefore an entirely original and independent testimony, and presents us with the views of the first Christians in China with regard to the meaning of Shin. From this we learn, that they did not understand Shin in the sense of God, to express which they have adopted a Syrian word, Aloha, (and perhaps 帝 Te, in the account given of the representation of the Deity, which was painted on the walls of the temple;) but Shin undoubtedly in their view conveyed the idea of spirit, and therefore they have used it for angels, whom they call the spirits of heaven.

The Mahomedans, who came to China as soon, if not sooner than the Syrians, have adopted the word Shin for angel, while they call God simply 主 choo, Lord. In an account of the introduction of Mahomedanism into China, in the second year of 貞觀 Chin-kwan, A. D. 633. we have a reference to the works of creation, in which the 真主 Chin choo, true Lord is said to have made 天地人神 t'hên te jin shin, heaven and earth, men and spirits. Where it is evident, that Shin is not to be taken in the acceptation of God, both on account of these Shins having been created by God, and from the fact of their being arranged after men. This also we must regard as an independent testimony, that Shin is to be taken in the sense of spirit. A Chinese author thus describes the Mahomedan religion, “回回地雖接天竺,而俗與之異,不供佛,不祭神,不拜尸,所尊敬者惟一天字 hwuy hwuy te, suy tsü t'hên chüh, urh süh yu che e, püh kung fuh, püh tse shin püh pae she, so tsun king chay, wei yih t'hên tsze, although the country of the Mahomedans borders upon India, their customs are different; they do not worship Buddha; nor sacrifice to spirits; nor bow down to the representative of the dead; but that which they honour is merely this one word Heaven.”

In a brief Chinese lexicon by Bayer, printed at Petersburg, 1730, we have 神 Shin. spiritus.

Callery, in his *Systema Phonetica* renders Shin, “spiritus; genius; idolum; mysterium.”

Basin, a recent French writer calls Kwei Shin, the *genii*. Collie, in his translation of the Four Books, says, "If the Chinese mean anything by what they say on this subject, it seems to be that the Kwei Shin is some extremely fine subtile spirit, employed by heaven and earth, the Great Creator, as the substratum of all things, and the secondary cause of all the phenomena of nature; perhaps gravitation or the electric fluid."

Milne, in his Indo-Chinese Gleaner, Vol. III. no. 16, says, "In native Chinese books, the word Shin seldom, if ever, denotes the Deity, and in so far we are of M. Remusat's opinion." Again, "Shin is daily and universally used, but rarely in the high sense of Deity." Further, "Shin very generally signifies a spirit, a spiritual existence, something divine, an intelligent spirit, like the soul of man," &c.

To the above, we add the definition of Shin given in Dr. Morrison's Dictionary: "Every evanescent, invisible, inscrutable spiritual operating power or cause, is called Shin; a spirit: the human spirit; Divinity; God, in the sense of heathen nations; divine; spiritual; the animal spirits." From the above we perceive, that Dr. Morrison considered the first and primary meaning of Shin to be spirit: the human spirit; &c. while divinity or God, in the sense of heathen nations, is given as the secondary meaning; implying that the word is only to be thus rendered, when the exigency of the case requires it. In other parts of Morrison's Dictionary, he has rendered Shin by spirit, as we have previously seen, nearly as often as he has translated it God; and in those instances in which he has called Shin, God, the phrases are similarly constructed, and the meaning nearly the same with those in which he has represented Shin and Kwei Shin by our word spirit and spirits. He appears, therefore, to have vacillated in his opinion as to the real signification of the term, and to have thought at one time, that it meant spirit, and at other times God. It is well known, that he has in his translation adopted the word Shin for God, though not invariably, having sometimes used 神天 Shin t'héen, * the spiritual heavens, 1 Cor. 6: 20.

* The phrase Shin t'héen has been already given from Premare, as meaning "spirituale cœlum." This sense has been attached by Morrison himself to the phrase, as will appear from a work of his own, published shortly before his death, entitled the Domestic Instructor: in the 4th volume of which, he shows that there are two significations of Heaven, viz. the 形體之天 *hing t'he che* material and the 神靈之天 *Shin ling che t'héen*,

which latter term he has adopted in his tracts almost universally. If we carefully examine his translation of the New Testament, we shall find that he was very far from considering Shin as an exact equivalent for Divinity. Indeed with the exception of employing it to express *Theos* in the Scriptures, he seems to have taken a view of it very much in accordance with the meaning given to the term by the Chinese and European writers, whom we have quoted above. This will appear very plainly by referring to those passages of the New Testament in which spirit occurs. These amount to 380, and have been rendered by Morrison in a great variety of ways. He has employed for the purpose of expressing *pneuma*, the following terms : 心 *sin*, the heart ; 靈 *ling*, spirit ; 靈魂 *ling hwān*, the soul ; 性情 *sing tsing*, disposition ; 氣 *k'he*, breath ; 風 *fung*, wind ; 鬼 *kwet*, devil ; and 神 *shin*, which he has elsewhere adopted for God. The latter two terms have frequently the addition of 風 *fung* to them, and sometimes 靈 *ling* is prefixed to 神 *shin*. But the cases in which the word 神 *Shin* occurs as a constituent part, and evidently as the translator thought an important element, in the phrase used in translating *pneuma*, amount to about 150 ; and the cases in which *Shin* is used alone, or with the addition of 聖 *shing*, (the word holy not being in the text) amount to 30. We are not surprised that he should feel dissatisfied with 風 *fung* as a term for spirit, as it cannot adequately express the idea intended ; but we allude to it now, for the sake of remarking on the term which he has selected to serve as a qualifier, or as a substitute ; a term which, notwithstanding he had already adopted it for God, and therefore had strong reason for avoiding it if possible, yet in his estimation conveyed so fully the idea of spirit, that he felt constrained to use it ; proving in fact, that Morrison did not regard the radical meaning of *Shin* to be divinity, but that he thought spirit to be the prevailing idea conveyed by it ; while it could be considered as only sometimes referring to divinities. But Morrison has not only used *Shin* in conjunction with other

spiritual heavens ; the first of these, he says, is devoid of spirituality and intelligence, while the second possesses both. That which he calls the 神天 *Shin t'heen*, spiritual heavens, is the Creator and governor of all things ; and that which he calls the 形天 *hing t'heen*, material heavens is visible, and to be reckoned among created objects.

terms to express the idea of spirit, he has actually employed it alone in the sense of spirit, both abstract and concrete, both good and bad, proving, that he considered it as fully conveying that idea. Thus in Luke 1 : 17. In the *spirit* (Shin) and power of Elias ; and 1 : 47. My *spirit* (Shin) hath rejoiced in God (Shin) my Saviour ; (where spirit and God, in so short a sentence, are translated by the same word.) Again in Gal. 6 : 18. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your *spirit* (Shin.) 1 Peter 3 : 18. Quickened by the *spirit* (Shin.) 1 Peter 1 : 11. The *spirit* (Shin) of Christ which was in them. The same phrase is used, Eph. 1 : 17. for the God (Shin) of our Lord Jesus Christ. The phraseology in Matt. 12 : 43, 45. Seven other *spirits* (Shin) more wicked than himself : is similar to that employed in Rev. 1 : 4. The seven *spirits* (Shin) which are before his throne. Rev. 16 : 13. Three unclean *spirits* (Shin) like frogs. Rev. 16 : 14. *Spirits* (Shin) of devils. Rev. 1 : 82. Every foul *spirit* (Shin.) If Dr. Morrison considered that Shin ought in every instance to be rendered God, as now insisted on by the advocates of Shin, particularly when found in the concrete, he must be looked on as having introduced into his translation of the New Testament the roughest polytheism, making its writers, and even our Lord himself, appear as if they maintained that there was indeed a plurality of Gods, not only in the opinion of the heathen, but in their own. But we must give him the credit for not wishing to convey that idea, and conclude that he considered Shin as fully and properly meaning spirit. So also in the Old Testament repeatedly, where *ruach* occurs in the Hebrew, as 1 Kings 2 : 21. There came forth a *spirit* (Shin) and stood before the Lord. 2 Chron. 18 : 20. Then there came out a *spirit* (Shin), and stood before the Lord (Shin choo), and said, I will entice him : and the Lord said unto him, wherewith ? and he said, I will go out, and be a lying *spirit* (Shin) in the mouth of all his prophets. Dan. 5 : 12. an excellent *spirit* (Shin) was found in Daniel. Eccles. 3 : 21, Whoknoweth the *spirit* (Shin) of the man, that goeth upward, and the *spirit* (Shin) of the beast that goeth downward to the earth. In this the translators of the Bible have used the word Shin in a sense in which the Chinese themselves have never employed it : as it is confined with them to the intelligent spirit of man ; and is not applied, that we remember, to the mere sensual spirit of the brute. And (not to quote more largely,) 1 Sam. 16 : 14. 16 : 23, and 18 : 10. a *spirit* (Shin) from the Lord troubled him, &c. In other passages where the terms *pneuma* and *ruach* occur, Dr. Morrison uses the Chinese phrases, which it has been shewn the Chinese lexicographers

and classical writers employ as explanatory of and synonymous with Shin ; such as 靈 ling, 氣 k'he, &c. in this respect conforming to Chinese practice, though with imminent hazard of leading those Chinese who accurately investigated his translation into the idea, that there was a great deal of inconsistency in the views entertained by Scripture writers ; as they would sometimes find Shin used for an adjunct of a being, in the sense of spirit and soul ; sometimes as a concrete for Deity ; denying in one place that there were any other Shins but one, and then in another place declaring that there were seven Shins before the throne. But the most inconsistent feature of the whole is using the same term for the pure and holy God, and for an impure and fallen angel ; without the slightest intimation of any difference between them. Surely that cannot be a suitable term for the Deity, which can be used with equal propriety for his grand adversary. If Shin is to be understood in the sense of Deity, this application of the term to the author of evil is inexplicable : Divinity in itself conveys the idea of goodness and perfection, and cannot be properly applied to those beings who are destitute of every good quality : spirit, on the other hand, is capable of being applied to holy and unholy beings ; understanding Shin in the sense of spirit, there is no impropriety in speaking of the Spirit of God as a Shin, and of applying the same term to mischievous demons ; as the Chinese speak of 正神 ching shin, correct Shins, and of 邪神 sēay shin, corrupt Shins ; but it would not be proper in any language to employ the same term as generic for gods, that can be applied with equal propriety to devils.

We will now refer to the Manuscript Harmony of the Gospels, Acts, and Pauline Epistles, which was copied at Canton in 1738-9, by order of Mr. Hodgson. jun. and after having been collated with great care, was deposited in the British Museum ; this manuscript was transcribed by Dr. Morrison, with the assistance of a learned native, and taken with him to Canton in 1807. Regarding his subsequent translation, he writes, " the Gospels, the closing Epistles, and the Revelation, are entirely my own translation ; the middle of the volume is founded on the manuscript deposited in the British Museum." The Harmony of the Gospels, therefore, is a separate and independent testimony from Morrison's version, and we shall now examine it with regard to the sense in which its unknown author understood the word Shin. Here let it be premised that the Compiler of the Harmony has used Shin throughout for God, and therefore

he, as well as Dr. Morrison, had the strongest reason for avoiding it when translating spirit; lest the reader should be confounded by the ambiguity attaching to so important a term, and not know when to understand it in the sense of God, and when in that of spirit. On looking into the Harmony, we find that the author has in the majority of instances rendered Holy Spirit by 聖神 *shing shin*, and has adopted the same phrase even when the word Holy does not occur in the text, as in Luke 4 : 1. twice; John 1 : 32, 33. 3 : 6. 7 : 39. This was perhaps to distinguish this term from that used to designate God, which was represented by Shin alone. Such a practice, however, has not always been followed; for the writer has in various instances rendered spirit by Shin alone; both when referring to the spirit of God, and the spirit of man. As a specimen of the former take the following: Luke 2 : 27. He came by the *spirit* (Shin) into the temple. John 3 : 6. That which is born of the *spirit* (Shin) is *spirit* (Shin.) Here we cannot help remarking, that the impression upon the writer's mind of Shin's meaning spirit, and not God, must have been very strong, or he could not have risked the possibility of his readers misunderstanding this passage to such an extent as to suppose, that if they were born of God, they should become gods. Connected with verse 8. "So is every one that is born of the *spirit* (Shin.) In Matt. 12 : 31. He that blasphemeth against the *spirit* (Shin.) Again Luke 4 : 18. The *spirit* (Shin) of the Lord is upon me. In which latter case, the word "Lord" is omitted. So in Matt. 3 : 16, the *spirit of God* is rendered 聖神 *shing shin*; in which instance the word "God" is omitted. John 4 : 24. God (*choo*) is a *spirit* (Shin.) Here the translator was evidently at a loss; being impressed with the idea that Shin meant spirit, and was indeed the most appropriate term to express spirit, in this important passage, (the only one in the New Testament where the spirituality of God is distinctly stated), he felt bound to employ that term: and yet having used the same term for God, he did not know what to do; as it would have been a mere truism to say Shin is a Shin, and would not have conveyed the idea intended; he therefore, rather than swerve from his purpose to express spirit by Shin, resolved in this instance to alter the usual term for God, and to express it by Choo, Lord. A more striking proof surely could not be adduced, that in the mind of that writer, and he the first, as far as we know, to adopt Shin for God, (through the influence of whose example Morrison and those who follow in his wake, have doubtless been led to do the same,) the word Shin conveyed more exactly the idea of

spirit than God. Further, in John 14 : 17. 15 : 26. and 16 : 13. the same writer has rendered the spirit of truth, 真理之神 chin le che shin. And in Matt. 12 : 18. I will put my *spirit* (Shin) upon him. With reference to the spirit of man, we find that he has also employed Shin, as in the following : Luke 1 : 47, My *spirit* (Shin) hath rejoiced in my Saviour. The word God in the latter clause of the sentence being omitted, lest the use of Shin for both God and spirit should confound the reader. In this respect we see that he has been more consistent, though not so faithful, as Morrison. Luke 1 : 80. strong in *spirit* (Shin.) And in Acts 7 : 59, the same author has got, Into thine hands I commend my *spirit* (Shin): which Morrison has rendered 魂 hwăn, soul. In Luke 10 : 21. The author of the Harmony has mistaken the sense of the passage, and said, Jesus rejoiced in 聖神 Shing shin, the *Holy spirit*: from which we gather, notwithstanding, that he understood Shin in the sense of spirit.

Marshman, in his translation, has followed the Roman Catholic version, combined with Morrison's, altering only a few synonymous words. In the rendering of spirit, however, he has used 風 fung, throughout. There exists a translation of the Gospel of Mark, made by Johannes Lassar, at Serampore, and published before Marshman's compilation appeared; in which, in Mark 1 : 10. the word for (Holy) Spirit is 神魂 shin hwăn, *soul*: and where evil spirit was intended, as in Mark 9 : 20. 魄 pih, the *anima* is employed.

In endeavouring to ascertain the meaning of Chinese words, about which there is any dispute, it is common to appeal to the Manchow language; because the Manchourians understand the Chinese better than any other foreigners, and the Manchow language being polysyllabic, and capable of inflection like European tongues, is adapted for expressing an idea more distinctly than the Chinese: on which account, it is the invariable practice of the Continental Sinologues to appeal to the Manchow, in any disputed case regarding Chinese terms. In a Chinese and Manchow Dictionary, published by Imperial authority, and entitled 清文鑒 Tsing-wän-kēen, the mirror of the Manchow language, the word 神 Shin, is expressed by Entouri, the word 鬼 kwei, by Houtou, and the phrase 神祇 shin k'he, by Entouri ouetchekou. Entouri, in the adjective form, and lengthened out to Entouringue, means according to this dictionary 神靈 shin ling, spiritual, and is used for 聖 Shing. Holy.

It is possible that this class of words is derived from Edoun 風 fung, wind, or 氣 k'he, spirit, and has thus come to stand for spirit and anything spiritual. To shew that Entouri is to be taken in the sense of spirit, we may refer to a Manchow and French Dictionary, based on the Dictionary of M. Amiot, and edited by M. Langlés, Paris, 1789. In this work we have the following quotations. "Entouri, spirit (Shin in Chinese); Entouri ouetchekou, the spirit of earth, (Shin k'he in Chinese); Entouri houtou, an evil spirit; Entouingue, holy; Entouri nialma, a holy man; a sage. Entouringue etchen, an august prince; (Shing keun in Chinese). Houtou, spirit; Houtou entouri, devil, an evil spirit; Houtouringue, a detestable man. Edoun, the wind, the 氣 k'he, or spirit of heaven and earth." From the above it is evident, that Amiot and Langlés understood the word Entouri in the sense of spirit, and this is the word which represents 神 Shin in the Chinese-Manchow Dictionary. To shew that the French Lexicographers are not alone in the meaning thus attached to Entouri, we will now refer to the Manchow New Testament, published by the Bible Society, of which the following is a brief history. The translation of the New Testament into Manchourian, was first made at the instigation of Dr. Paterson, in 1822, who engaged a person named Lipofsoff, formerly sent by the Russian Government to China, for the purpose of studying the Manchow and Chinese languages, in which pursuit he had spent fourteen years at Peking. Regarding this gentlemen and his labours M. Remusat wrote in 1825, that "the translation executed by him, was the best specimen that he had yet examined, either in Chinese or any other of the eastern dialects, being by far the most idiomatic and faithful." The greater part of the edition of the New Testament executed by Lipofsoff was, however, destroyed in the flood which happened at Petersburg in 1824. Ten years afterwards, a manuscript translation of the Old Testament into Manchourian, which had been made at Peking, was discovered at Petersburg, and transcribed by Mr. Swan, but it does not appear to have been printed. In the same year, 1834, the Bible Society Committee, anxious to proceed with printing the New Testament, engaged Mr. G. Borrow, (who had already made himself master to a certain extent of the Manchow language) to go to Petersburg, and obtaining further knowledge of that tongue, to carry an edition of 1,000 copies through the press. It is to a copy of this last which we are now about to refer. This version in rendering the word spirit has adopted Entouri; for the Holy Spirit, Entouri Entouringue has been used. In some instances

Entouri has been used alone for demons and devils, but occasionally coupled with houtou. This then is additional evidence that Entouri, and by consequence Shin, was understood in the sense of Spirit. The translation now referred to has used Apkai Etchen, Lord or Emperor of Heaven, generically for God throughout, and never once employed Entouri, shewing that its authors did not consider that term as adequate to express the idea of God, even when used for the gods of the heathen, the god of the belly, or the god of this world.

In a Cochin-Chinese Vocabulary by Father Morrone, we have Thien Than, corresponding to 天神 T'hên shin, given for angels, or the spirits of Heaven. The Than of the Cochin-Chinese is the same as the Shin of the Chinese, which according to this vocabulary, means spirit. Thus "Than, spiritus; Thanh than, sanctus spiritus; Qui than, dæmon. Thay vi, sedes spiritus tutelariorum." This is elsewhere expressed by "Than vi than chu, sedes animæ; tabella superstitiosa," and is doubtless the 神主 Shin choo, or parental tablet of the Chinese. Via is said to be "spiritus animalis; spiratio." In this we see another proof, from an independent source, that Than or Shin means spirit, because it is synonymous with vi or via, the Chinese 氣 k'he, which means spiritus animalis; and in this as well as in the Thanh than, Holy Spirit, we perceive a striking resemblance to the Entouri Entouringue of the Manchow Dictionary.

Kitto, in commenting on the word Spirit, says, "It is one of the most generic terms in either the English, Hebrew, or Greek languages. Its leading significations in Scripture may be classed under the following heads. 1. The primary sense of the term is wind. 2. Breath, as of the mouth. 3. The vital principle which resides in and animates the body. In close connection with this use of the word is another, 4. In which it has the sense of apparition; spectre. 5. The soul; the rational, immortal principle, by which man is distinguished from the brute creation. 6. The race of superhuman created intelligences; such beings are denominated spiritual beings, because they have no bodies like ours. To both the holy and sinning angels the term is applied. In their original constitution their natures were alike pure spirits. The apostacy occasioned no change in the nature of the fallen angels, as spiritual beings. 7. The term is applied to the Deity, as the sole, absolute, and uncreated spirit; as "God is a spirit." This, as a predicate, belongs to the Divine nature, irrespective of the distinction of persons in that nature; but its characteristic application is to the

third person in the Divinity, who is called *the Holy Spirit*, because of his essential holiness, and *the Spirit*, by way of eminence." We know of no term in Chinese which more exactly suits the above definitions, with the exception of the two first, than Shin : and if its correlative K'he, with which it is often used interchangeably, and by which it is explained, be taken into the account, then all the definitions of spirit given by Kitto, may be included within the range over which the Chinese terms used to represent spirit extended. So also with regard to the 21 definitions of spirit given by Webster, the word Shin in Chinese will agree with almost the whole of them, shewing that those have not mistaken its meaning who have represented it by that term. Indeed there is no other term in western languages that will suit the various shades of meaning attached to Shin in Chinese, and certainly in no language with which Europeans are familiar can the word God be shown to be of so extensive a signification as Shin. Seeing then that Shin cannot be rendered by God in a vast number of instances, and may in almost every case be expressed by spirit, we conclude that Spirit and not God is the proper meaning of the term.

We have shewn in the preceding pages, from Chinese lexicons and classical writers, from European sinologues, and from cognate languages, that Shin means spirit. We will now take the view of the word thus elicited to explain some things, which would otherwise appear unaccountable in the Chinese system.

1. The cautions so frequently occurring in the Chinese classics against paying too much attention to the Shins and Kwei Shins : while the regard due to Heaven or Shang-te, is never supposed by any possibility to be excessive. This, on the supposition of the former meaning simply spirits, and the latter the Divinity, is easily accounted for ; but if we look upon the Kwei Shins as the gods of China, we cannot conceive how the sages who inculcated the uninterrupted veneration of Heaven, should discourage the people from addicting themselves to the worship of the Shins.

Thus in the Lun-yu, book 3, page 17, Confucius directs his disciples to "respect the Kwei Shins, (spirits) but to keep them at a distance." The Commentator on this passage says, that "to exert one's utmost strength in doing what is suitable in our intercourse with mankind, and not to be deluded by that which is inscrutable, regarding the Kwei Shins (spirits,) is the business of the wise." Another remarks on this subject, that "for people to believe too much in the Kwei Shins (spirits) is a delusion." Again the

paraphrase says, "with regard to the Kwei Shins (spirits), respect them, but keep them at a distance: and neither flatter nor annoy them by your solicitations for happiness." Here we may observe, that if the Kwei Shins meant divinities, it would not be very likely that the great moralist of China, who uttered the sentiment above detailed, when inculcating the highest dictate of wisdom, would have exhorted his disciples to keep the gods at a distance. We never hear of his employing such phraseology with reference to Heaven, which he frequently requires his followers to venerate, but never to keep at a distance. Should it be argued that the keeping at a distance, here spoken of, is a mode of shewing extraordinary respect to the Kwei Shins, we can only refer to the 9th section of the Lun-yu, 9th page, where Confucius says, "It is difficult to know how to treat women and inferiors; if you bring them too near, they become unsubmissive, and if you remove them to a distance, they hate you." It is evident, that the removing to a distance here, does not mean the treating of them with additional respect, else why should they hate one? Ching-tszé says, that to put too much confidence in spirits, is a delusion: do they ever say the same with regard to Heaven? The more men reverence Heaven, according to the Chinese, the better; and their feelings are very much shocked when it is suggested to them, that they must keep Heaven at a distance, or not place too much reliance on Heaven. Heaven in their estimation is Supreme, and the will of the Supreme is decisive of our fate: we are therefore to 爲善以聽命 wei shen • t'ing ming, do good and wait for the result from above.

In the Le-ke, 9th section, 44th page, Confucius speaks of the men of the Hea dynasty, who honoured the decrees of Heaven, and while they served the Kwei Shins (spirits) with respect, kept them at a distance. The rulers of the Yin dynasty, on the contrary, honoured the Shins (spirits,) and regarded the Kweis more than ceremonies. The rulers of Chow, unlike these, honoured ceremonies, and after serving the Kwei Shins, kept them at a distance: upon which the Commentator remarks, "that the men of Yin honoured the Kwei Shins (spirits), which were beyond their comprehension, and disregarded ceremonies which were easy to be understood; hence the dissoluteness and unquietness manifested by the people, as the result of an excessive veneration for spirits."

In the Shoo-king, book 3, page 36, with reference to a too frequent repetition of ceremonies in the service of the Shins (spirits), a commentator remarks, "The customs of the

Shang dynasty, at that time, led men to 尙鬼 shang kwei, over-estimate the spirits; and the reigning monarch could not extricate himself from the bondage of custom, hence in the ceremonies used in the service of the Shins (spirits) he was apt to fall into error." The paraphrase says, that "in the service of the Shins (spirits,) to respect and keep them at a distance, is the height of intelligence."

In the Shoo-king, section 6, page 29, "Shun directed his officers to cut off the connection between earth and heaven, that there might be no (pretended) descents and approaches (of the spirits :) after which both princes and people understood intelligent virtue, and aided in the maintenance of invariable principles." A commentator remarks, that "in a well-regulated age, the principles of justice are clearly developed; those who do good obtain happiness, and those who do evil fall into trouble. But during the oppressive reign of the Meaouites, the people became involved in crime, and consequent calamity, and having no persons to whom they could appeal for redress, they had recourse to Shins (spirits), and sacrificed to manes, in an improper manner. From this arose marvellous and lying stories, and men's minds fell into incorrectness." It appears, that in the decline of the reign of Shaou-haou, the nine tributary princes (spoken of by Amiot) threw the constant virtues into confusion, and thus the affairs of men and spirits were mingled together, so that every family had its conjurer, and the people profaned the sacrificial implements. Notwithstanding Chuen-heüh had put these things to rights, and assigned to men and spirits their proper limits, the Meaouites again threw things into confusion. Chang-she observes on this point, that "according to history, when a country is about to flourish, attention is paid to the people, and when a country is about to perish, attention is paid to spirits."

Leu-she says, "In a well-regulated age, 神怪 Shin kwae, sprites and elves do not appear, simply because the distinction between virtue and vice is clearly apparent, and people of course do not pray to the spirits; but in times of confusion, these distinctions are not manifest, and the people consequently are much given up to talking about 神 Shin, sprites, and 怪 kwae, elves, while they speak of necromancers and fortune-telling without end." Another says, that "this result was to be ascribed to the princes of the court, who displayed the principles of enlightened virtue, that people might not be perverted by superstitious and idle fancies; thus the minds of men would be free from delusions, and they would no longer seek for happiness from

the spirits.: for men are apt to err from correct principles, when they become deluded by 神 Shin, sprites, and 怪 kwae, elves, and confuse the laws about sacrifice: but when intelligent virtue is clearly displayed, men's minds become correct, and they will of course seek for happiness in the way of constant virtue, and not in that of 妖 yaou, monstrous appearances." From all the above extracts we see that 神 Shin, means spirit and not God, which will appear, both from its connection with the 怪 kwae, strange and marvellous, and 妖 yaou, monstrous appearances, as well as from the fact of the people's being prohibited from addicting themselves to such superstitious matters, by the ancient sages. In times of confusion only, are the people said to be given up to the service of sprites and elves, while in a well-regulated age such sprites do not appear. The commentators on this passage refer to a supposed descent of a Shin (spirit) at Sin, during the period called the Chun-tsew, when the Hō country was about to be destroyed, and say, that the pretended descents of spirits in the time of Shun, which that monarch so much discouraged, were of the same character. On referring to the Chun-tsew history, we have some account of this supernatural appearance which is said to have continued for six months. When some people of the Hō country presented solicitations to this spirit, for the purpose of obtaining good fortune, a wise man predicted that the Hō country would be destroyed, because it practiced oppression and gave heed to spirits. Another observes, "I have heard it said, that when a state is about to prosper, the ruler attends to the people; and when it is near to ruin he applies to the spirits." Supposing for a moment that Shin meant gods, it is not to be conceived, that the wise men of a country would ascribe the ruin of a state to the attentions paid to the same; and we can account for the discouragement with which such services are met, only on the ground of Shin meaning spirits; addictedness to the worship of which would in all countries be looked upon as superstitious.

2. The frequent coupling of Kwei with Shin, is to be accounted for on no other principle, than that of the latter as well as the former meaning spirit.

It is capable of the clearest proof that Kwei means the manes of men. Kang-he says, that "Kwei is that to which the 精魂 tsing hwān, ethereal soul reverts; and that when the 精神 tsing shin, ethereal spirit, or animal spirit leaves the body, each part reverts to its proper place, hence the

reverting is called Kwei." Morrison says, that Kwei means "the spirit of a dead man : a ghost ; a demon ; a devil. Kwei implies reverting to that spiritual state of existence to which human beings return at death." In the theory of sacrifices, the 天神 T'héen-shin and the 地氣 Te-k'he, or the spirits of heaven and earth are almost always mentioned in connection with the 人鬼 jin kwei, manes of men. The terms seem inseparably bound up together, sometimes with one and sometimes with another preceding ; a commentator on the Chow-le. gives us the reason of this variety, thus : "When they are arranged as Shin, Kwei and K'he, the highness and lowness of their position is determined : (i. e. the Shins belonging to heaven, and the Kweis being supposed to have gone up to heaven after death, they are higher in position than the K'hes who belong to earth.) When they are arranged as Kwei, Shin, K'he, this is to distinguish the inner and outer among them, (i. e. the Kweis being related to the individuals sacrificing are the inner, or those belonging to their own family, while the Shins and K'hes not sustaining any relationship with the worshippers are the outer) ; and when they are arranged as Shin, K'he, Kwei, it is intended to illustrate the honourable and inferior among them, (i. e. the Shins and K'hes belonging to heaven and earth are the more honourable, and the Kweis belonging only to human beings are considered inferior.)" Thus it appears that the Kwei's Shins, and K'hes are all of the same class, with only this difference, that some belong to the upper regions, and others to the lower world, some are nearly and others distantly related, some are more honourable, and others inferior : with this exception, the Shins, the K'hes, and the Kweis are nearly alike ; there is no essential difference between them. This similarity must result from the three kinds being equally gods, or from their being alike spirits. If the former, then the 人鬼 jin kwei, must be the gods of men, as well as 天神 t'héen shin, and 地祇 te k'he, the gods of heaven and earth respectively. But the 人鬼 jin kwei, are adjuncts of the beings called men, they belong to them, and form an essential part of their existence ; as the 神 shin of Wān-wang, (spoken of in the Book of Odes, ascending and descending in the presence of Te,) was the spirit of Wān-wang, or Wān-wang himself, after having quitted the body. No one would ever think of calling it the god of Wān-wang, or the god who presided over him : so the Kwei of ancestors are not gods of ancestors, but those ancestors themselves, or

all that remains of them, after the various parts of their constituted being have reverted to their proper places. The Kweis of men, therefore, are the spirits of men, and not the gods presiding over those particular beings. In this view of the Kwei, all the Chinese lexicographers and classical writers coincide, and all European sinologues agree, attesting with united voice, that the Kweis of men are their disembodied spirits, and not their gods. If Kwei mean spirits therefore, and the Shins and K'hes of Heaven and earth are of the same kind with the Kweis of men, then the Shins and K'hes must be spirits likewise. A commentator on the Chow-le has said that "speaking of the Shins, K'hes, and Kweis separately, then the Shins of heaven are alone denominated Shins; but speaking of them collectively, then the Kweis of men and the K'hes of earth are generally called Shins." From this we learn that the word Shin is applicable generally to the Kweis of men, as well as to the Shins and K'hes of Heaven and earth; and as we have shewn that the Kweis of men must mean the spirits of men, it will follow that when such Kweis are called in a general sense Shins, then the word Shin means spirit also. Indeed the application of the word Shin to the Kweis of men, is of very general occurrence throughout the Chinese classics; for the manes of ancestors are as frequently called Shins as they are Kweis, and very often they are called Kwei Shin together, shewing that the words are of similar import in such application of them. As the Kwei of a deceased person is not the protecting genius of that person, but the unscattered spiritual energies of that individual, so the Shin of that person in the same acceptation must mean his spirit, and not his god. It is then, from the so frequent coupling of the terms Kwei and Shin together, in the sense of the manes of men, that we are compelled to consider them both as spirits, and on no other grounds can we account for such a combination of the terms under such circumstances.

In the Chinese system of cosmogony, the Kwei and the Shin, are essentially united together, and perform an equally important part therein: the one contracting and the other expanding, in order to bring about the effects visible in nature. The Chinese represent the Kwei Shins of nature's mechanism, as the effective operations of heaven and earth, and as the easily acting powers of the two principles of nature: spoken of with reference to their expanding and contracting, advancing and receding. In this respect the Kwei perform as considerable a part as the Shin, inasmuch as were there no contractings there could be no expandings, and were there no recedings there could be no advancing. In this connection also they are both viewed as spiritual

energies : as witness Kang-he, "The 魂 hwän, soul of the superior principle of nature is called Shin, and the 魄 pih, anima of the inferior principle is called Kwei;" again, "the expandings of the 氣 k'he, breath or spirit of nature constitute the Shin, and its contractings the Kwei." And to shew that the Kwei Shins in this connection mean spirits, or spiritual energies, we have only to consider their supposed origin, which is set forth as follows : "In the production of all things, there is undoubtedly present the 氣 k'he, breath or finer spirit of nature : this 氣 k'he, spirit is the essence of the Shin ; so also there is undoubtedly present the 魄 pih, anima or grosser spirit of nature ; this 魄 pih, anima is the essence of the Kwei." Here it is evident that 氣 K'he, must be rendered spirit, in order to make it correspond with the correlative term 魄 pih, anima : from these two respectively proceed the Shin and the Kwei, which are the fulness or essence of the breath and anima of nature. It is from the combination of the Kwei with the Shin in this scheme, and from the explanation of both by the words spirit and anima, that we are constrained to render the terms in question by some term resembling spirit in our language : but on the hypothesis that Shin means Divinity, we see no way of escaping the difficulties that surround the subject. The anima in man is certainly not his Divinity, neither can the anima of nature be the Divinity of nature : but the anima is the essence of the Kwei : the word Kwei, therefore, cannot be translated Divinity. Again, Shin and Kwei are correlative terms ; the one has as much to do in the mechanism of nature as the other : therefore Shin cannot mean Divinity. Both Kwei and Shin are explained by terms which mean spirit of a finer or grosser kind, therefore they both mean spirit, and in this connection must import the spiritual energies of nature. On the other supposition, that Kwei Shin means Divinity, we shall find it difficult to explain how these said divinities are the 天地之功用造化之迹 t'heen te'che kung yung, tsaou hwa che tselh, energetic operations of heaven and earth, and the traces of production and transformation : or to reconcile with such a theory the following statement of Choo-foo-tsze, that "all advancing and recedings, collectings and scatterings of 氣 k'he, the spirit of nature, are invariably the 用 yung, actings out of Heaven and earth, while the Kwei Shins are the most mysterious of such actings : but these having been moved in

the 氣 k'he, spirit of nature, and displayed in its operations, are subordinate to form, and are therefore called the traces of production and transformation." To which add the statement of the critical commentator on the Chung-yung, -that "such productions and transformations point to the doings of Heaven and earth." From which we gather, that Heaven and earth, is the prime mover, and that the Kwei Shins are a series of secondary causes. They are therefore not divinities, but the spirits or spiritual energies employed by the Divinity, in the production and transformation of things.

3. If Shin mean spirit, we may easily account for the fact, that the Shins, when viewed as mere spirits, should be inferior to Te or the Tes in general. When the Chinese classical writers use Shin by way of definition, and speak of Te or Shang-te as a Shin or spirit, the word Shin is of course dignified as being descriptive of the spiritual nature of him who is ruler over all: but when they use Shin by way of designation, as referring to a class of beings who are mere Shins or spirits and not Tes, the word in such case conveys no especial idea of dignity or majesty with it. As in English, when we say, God is a spirit, we of course allude to a spirit of infinite glory and honour; but when we speak of those who are mere spirits, we designate a class of beings who have naturally no dignity or authority what ever.

In the Le-ke, vol. 3, page 41. we read, that when the vernal sacrifices were presented, the Te, or deity sacrificed to, was T'hae-haou, and the Shin, or spirit honoured on the same occasion was Kow-mang. T'hae-haou is described by the Commentator, as the 君 keun, or sovereign, who ruled by virtue of the element wood; and Kow-mang as the 臣 chin, or minister, who officiated by virtue of the same element. T'hae-haou was also prior in point of time to Kow-mang: after their death, they were both sacrificed to, the one as a presiding deity, and the other as a ministering spirit; and so with various other Tes and Shins, at the different seasons of the year. In the 81st page of the same book, Kow-mang and his fellows are represented as the helpers and assistants of the five Tes. It is evident, therefore, that the Chinese in this instance considered the Shins as inferior to the Tes, as officers are inferior to sovereigns, or descendants to their ancestors. On the supposition that the Shins were divinities, we cannot see how they should be ranked below another class of beings worshipped on the same occasion: but if we consider the Shins as mere spirits, the representation of the classic is of easy explanation.

In the Commentary on the Yih-king, it is asked, "If Heaven does not oppose, how can men, and how can the Kwei Shins?" Here Heaven evidently refers to the Divinity, in the Chinese estimation, whose opposition not being manifested, the opposition of the Kwei Shins would be ineffectual. The Kwei Shins therefore, as spirits, are distinct from the Divinity, and unable to oppose him. Another commentator says, "those who confer benefits are men, those who do not oppose are the Kwei Shins: but we must act agreeably to the mind of Heaven, before we can obtain such results." Here also the subjection of the Kwei Shins, as spirits, to Heaven or the Divinity is clear. Again, "In this diagram, after saying that the divinations do not oppose, it follows that the Kwei Shins are compliant; but the writer carries the idea further up to Shang-te, without whom the Kwei Shins of the hills and rivers could do nothing with the diagrams. Thus it appears, that Te is Lord of the hundred Shins, and when blessings come from above, it shews that the mind of Heaven is gratified, and that neither men nor Shins can oppose." From the above extracts it is evident, that Heaven, Te, or Shang-te, is the Supreme Power, and that the Kwei Shins are spirits, who cannot oppose his will, because he is Lord of the hundred Shins. If in all this we render the phrase Kwei Shins by spirits, we see no difficulty, because spirits, viewed as mere invisible intelligences, are undoubtedly subject to the ruler of all.

In the Chow-le, vol. 3, page 23, it is said, that the king puts on felicitous robes when sacrificing to the Shang-te of the glorious heavens, or to the five Tes, but when he sacrifices to the spirits of the hills and rivers, he omits these robes, because, says the Commentator, "he did not dare to gratify those who were inferior, by putting on the most honourable dress." Thus we see, that when the Kwei Shins of the hills and rivers come into comparison with Shang-te, or the five Tes, they are considered as inferior; as would mere spirits in comparison with divinities in all countries.

In the 儀禮 E-le, vol. 8, page 25, a commentator says, that "the upper and lower Shins, or the spirits of the sun and moon, hills and rivers, are not the most honourable in heaven and earth: and are not of the same rank with the 天帝 t'heen te, celestial Tes, nor even with the 人帝 jin te, human Tes." Here the Shins, as contrasted with the Tes, are looked upon as inferior, and must therefore be considered as spirits and not divinities.

According to the ritual of the present dynasty, as we have already seen, the 天神 T'hên Shins, and 地祇 Te k'hes all rank as secondaries in the sacrifice, are only treated with secondary honours, and are worshipped by deputy; while the altar consecrated to Te, and the Tes who constitute the imperial progenitors, is higher than theirs, the sacrifices are more costly, and presented by the Emperor in person. The names and titles of these Tes are elevated three characters above the line, while those of the T'hên shins are only elevated two characters above the line, and in this respect put on a level with the Emperor. Thus, in the most solemn religious service performed in the empire, the T'hên Shins are treated with second-class services, while the highest honours are reserved for those who are not called Shins on this occasion, but Tes. If we translate the Shins and the K'hes, by the spirits of heaven and earth, as all the lexicographers and classical writers warrant us in doing, we shall be able easily to account for the above fact.

With reference to the popular views, as to the relative importance of the Kwei Shins, when compared with Te or the Tes in general, we may refer to a collection of essays, drawn up by the learned men of the present day, in one of which we are told, that “上帝之下有鬼神 Shang-te che hea yew kwei shin, the Kwei Shins are subject to Shang-te, as the mandarins are subject to the Emperor; that they receive the commands of Heaven to examine the feelings of men, as the hundred officers are under the 天子 T'hên tsze, Son of Heaven, receiving the Sovereign's commands, to controul men's persons. The merits or demerits of the people, it is said, are all communicated to the Emperor by the reporting mandarins; and so the Kwei Shins examine the good, and search out the bad: but the 氣 k'he, breath of the invisible spirit of man, has immediate access to the throne of Te, and there is no need to wait for the Kwei Shins to go in and report.” From the above we perceive, that the Kwei Shins bear the same relation to Te, as mandarins do to the Emperor; the term by which to render them in our language, therefore, is spirits and not divinities.

With regard to the views entertained by the Taouists on this subject, we may observe, that they regard 北帝 Pih-te, as the superintendant of all the Kwei Shins throughout the world; and one of the Tes, acting under the command of 玉帝 Yüh-te, the Supreme Deity among the Taouists, is said to have the superintendence of all the 天神 T'hên

Shins, celestial spirits, and 天將 *Ch'ien tseang*, celestial generals, examining into their merits or demerits, and dealing with them accordingly. From which we gather, that the Taoists consider the Shins, as mere spirits, inferior to the *Tes*.

4. If, as we have shewn, the word Shin means spirit, we can easily account for its application to *Te* or *Shang-te*, the Supreme Divinity according to the Chinese. Various quotations have been brought forward by the advocates of Shin to prove that *Shang-te*, *Te*, or *T'heen*, is a Shin, and the argument sought to be based thereon is, that *Shang-te* being the chief Divinity among the Chinese and at the same time a Shin, therefore Shin means Divinity. But if Shin, of its own natural and proper force, means spirit, then the shewing that *Shang-te* is a Shin, will not prove that Shin means Divinity; any more than in English, the shewing that God is a spirit would prove that spirits are gods. In order to shew that Shin meant God, dictionaries should be referred to which say that Shin is God; or classical writers should be quoted who use the word Shin in the sense of God, as to what he is and does; but this has not, and cannot be done; for the lexicographers do not assign to the word Shin the meaning of Divinity, and there are no instances in which Shin, when used alone by classical writers, is said to possess those attributes, or to perform those actions which the Divinity in the estimation of the Chinese is said to be and to do. Much importance has been attached to the argument that *Shang-te* is called a Shin, and those who have brought it forward have felt confident that the passages adduced to shew this cannot be explained away; but unless it can be shewn that Shin in such an application means God, such testimonies are of no avail. If, as we have proved, Shin means a spirit, then all such quotations will only go to shew that the Supreme God in the estimation of the Chinese is a spiritual being, but will not prove either that Shin means God, or that all Shins are gods, so as to establish the assertion that Shin is the generic name for God in Chinese. A spirit is an incorporeal being or intelligence, in which sense God is said to be a spirit, as are angels and the souls of men. A spirit may be infinite, almighty, omniscient and supreme, if spoken of with reference to God; or it may be dependent, limited, and subordinate, if the allusion is to be to the spirits of heaven and earth, (who are employed by the Divinity,) or if the word be used merely with respect to the manes of men.

It has been asserted, however, that the circumstance of the Chinese making the Shins the objects of religious wor-

ship, is proof sufficient that they regard them as gods. To this we reply, that it does not follow, because men make certain beings the objects of religious worship, that therefore they regard them as gods. We have referred in the previous part of the enquiry to the Sabæans, who worshipped the stars, or the intelligences which were supposed to reside in them, and yet they believed in one God. In the same manner, the ancient Arabs worshipped the angels, whose intercession they begged as their mediators with God. So also the Chinese worship the 天神 t'hên shin, Shins of Heaven, and the 地祇 te k'he, K'hes of earth, which they explain to be spirits in all their dictionaries and commentaries; foreigners also, writing on their language and religion, have translated these terms, whether in the concrete or abstract, by the word spirit. Such being the case, the circumstance of religious worship being paid to such spirits, does not alter the natural radical meaning of the term, nor warrant us in translating it by God, wherever it occurs; still less does the fact of the Chinese worshipping these Shins, or spirits, sanction our using the word Shin as generic for God, when translating the Scriptures into their language.* But it has been urged, that the worship offered to the Shins, is a violation of the first commandment, and that therefore we must number the objects thus worshipped among the other gods, who are not to be honoured before Jehovah; to which we reply, that the worship of any object or being, other than Jehovah, is indeed a violation of the first commandment; but it does not therefore follow, that the term for signifying such object or being could be used generically for God. Suppose we had come among a people who were in the habit of worshipping angels or dæmons, their so doing would not warrant us in adopting the word angel or dæmon for God. The Greeks, among whom the Apostles went, offered

* The ideas entertained by the Chinese, on the subject of sacrificing to the Kwei Shins, may be ascertained, by a reference to what Choo-foo-tsze says in his works, section 51, page 42: an enquirer asked, "Seeing that the departed become Kweis, why are progenitors said to approach and come?" To which the philosopher replied, "This refers to their being influenced (by sacrifices); and when they are said to come and approach, there is a slight allusion to the Shin, or expanding principle; whilst we take our animal spirits to influence their animal spirits. Sacrifices and offerings are altogether presented with this view."

Mr. Mede says, "that it was (then) the very tenet of the Gentiles, that the sovereign and celestial gods were to be worshipped only with the pure mind, and with hymns and praises; while sacrifices were only for dæmons."

religious worship and sacrifice to dæmons,* and their doing so was undoubtedly a breach of the first commandment; yet the Apostles did not see fit to use the word dæmon for God: neither is the circumstance, of the Shins having been worshipped by the Chinese, sufficient to warrant us in using that word generically for God, when we find, that in respect to sovereignty, and the power of originating things, it does not convey to the Chinese mind the same idea, which was conveyed to the mind of a Greek by the use of *Theos*.

5. It is only on the supposition that Shin means spirit, that we are enabled to account for its very frequent application to the human mind, the animal spirits, and the rational soul. On no other principle could the various passages in which Shin occurs be reconciled with each other. If we take Shin in the sense of God and Divinity, we must explain the following passage: 神思不足 Shin sze pūh tsūh, "God's thoughts are not sufficient;" whereas Morrison renders it, "a defect in the cogitations of the soul, idiotcy." So also 神勞 shin laou, must be rendered "the God wearied," whereas it means "the mind harrassed."

In like manner, 神之神 shin che shin, would be "the God of God," whereas its true meaning is "the extending of the expanding spirit of nature;" and 神之鬼 shin che kwei, would be the dæmon of God, whereas it should be rendered the contracting of the expanding spirit of nature; 魂神 hwān shin, must on such an hypothesis be the God of the soul, whereas it simply means "the soul." But we have no need to quote further, as we have already given a host of examples in which Shin means the mind, spirit, and sentiment; and it is capable of the clearest proof, that Shin refers in a multitude of instances to the soul, while every Chinese will tell you that he has got a Shin or spirit, otherwise he could not live. Now no one ever looked upon his soul as his God, or worshipped it as such. The Greeks

* Dæmon, says Buck, is a name given to certain spirits or genii, which were said to appear to men, either to do them service, or to hurt them. Several of the heathen philosophers held, that there were different kinds of dæmons; that some of them were spiritual substances of a more noble origin than the human race, and that others had once been men. But those dæmons, who were the more immediate objects of the established worship among the ancient nations, were human spirits, such as were believed to become dæmons or deities, after their departure from the body." See also the opinion of Maimonides quoted by Parkhurst under the word Daimonion.

who were Pantheists, and considered their soul a part of the *to pan*, never called their soul *Theos*; and a word that is equally applicable to the divine nature, as well as the human soul, cannot in itself mean divinity. Take for instance the rational faculty. It may be said, that God possesses reason in the highest degree; man also possesses reason; the phrase rational being, therefore, is not distinctive of divinity. So also, God is a spirit, and the human soul is a spirit; the word *spirit*, therefore, cannot be restricted to the Divinity. Now when we find a word, which is equally predicable of the Divine Being, and of the human mind, we cannot consider it as indicative of divinity, but must find some other term whereby to express it.

It has been argued, in favour of Shin, that it means a class of beings, comprehending the highest known to the Chinese; but this is by no means demonstrative of its meaning divinity. The class of spirits in Christian nomenclature, that is spiritual and intelligent beings, includes all beings from God down to the human soul. That there is divinity comprehended among the spirits is at once allowed; but this does not render spirit a proper term by which to express divinity. The idea of divinity is not inherent in the word spirit: the quality of spirit or spirituality forms part of the essential elements of divinity, but does not comprehend the whole of those elements; while spirit, on the other hand, comprehends a separate class of beings, totally different from divinities, except in this one quality of spiritual energy or intelligence. We may say, with perfect propriety, that a spirit created the world; because God is a spirit, and the world was created by him; but it was not in his spiritual, but in his divine capacity, that he effected that work; for every spirit could not create a world, and only the Divine Spirit could accomplish such a task. The Shins among the Chinese comprehend the Tes, who are admitted to be gods, and therefore it is argued, that Shin is the generic word for God: but the Shins comprehend the human soul, which is not divine: therefore, as a generic word, it comprehends much of which divinity is never predicated. It has been said, that Shin is a generic term applicable to all beings that are worshipped. Wide as this range however is, we conceive that it has in reality a still wider one, as it comprehends the human mind, which has never been honoured with religious worship by the Chinese. If Shin mean divinity therefore, the Chinese must be looked upon as possessing very low ideas of what divinity is, since in their daily conversation, they speak of their own soul, by means of which they are able to think, to act, and to

talk, as a god (Shin.) Such a mode of speaking is inveterately rooted among this people, forming a part of their language; and it is no reply to the objection, that it is an idolatrous and improper habit, which Christianity may be expected to eradicate, as it did the idolatrous mode of speaking in vogue among the Greeks and Romans; for they had never any such habit as this; it never having occurred to them to say, of that mental and spiritual energy, which enabled them to think and act, as living and intelligent beings, that it was their *Deus* or *Theos* that did it. On the other hand, the Chinese have constantly been accustomed to use Shin with reference to the human soul, while they have never employed it when speaking of the acts and attributes of the Supreme in their estimation: in endeavouring to correct their habits, therefore, we shall not only have to prevent them from lowering Shin so much as to apply it to the human soul, but we must also exhort them to raise it above what they have been accustomed to do, and apply it mainly to the Divine Being, in speaking of his producing and governing all things.

In no language, that we are acquainted with, do we find the generic word for God used in describing the feelings and affections, thoughts and imaginations of man: but the Chinese frequently employ the word Shin with that reference: and, when connected with a possessive personal pronoun, it must be understood in the sense of a man's soul or mind. Thus 我之神 *gno che shin*, means my spirit, and not my God: 爾之神 *urh che shin*, thy spirit, and not thy God: 他之神 *t'ha che shin*, his spirit, and not his God. Can that therefore be a proper term, wherewith to represent God in Scripture, which necessarily conveys in certain connections (and those connections occurring frequently) a different meaning? and is it not presumptive evidence that the term means spirit and not God throughout, when there are instances in which it must be taken in the former sense, and no instances in which it must be taken in the latter?

6. By rendering the word Shin as spirit, we avoid inconsistency, when we come to speak of Shin as the adjunct of a being. Numerous instances occur in which Shin is used in the abstract, as a quality belonging to a person or being. Such as the Shin of Te, the Shin of Wän-wang, the Shins of ancestors, and the Shin of a living man. If Shin in the concrete, is to be translated god, it ought also, according to the analogy of language, to be translated divinity in the abstract; but we have shewn, that it cannot be rendered god in

the cases referred to, but spirit, or spiritual energy and intelligence. To render it one way in the concrete, and another in the abstract, would be manifestly inconsistent: which inconsistency would be avoided by translating it spirit in both cases; and as the word spirit is capable of being understood in both the abstract and concrete senses, no alteration need be made in the way of rendering the term; but spirit, in English, will in either case fully correspond to Shin in Chinese. If it be asked, How are we to know whether the term Shin is to be understood in the abstract or the concrete? We answer, that whenever Shin is spoken of as belonging to a person or being, it must be understood as referring to the spirit of that person, or an adjunct of that being; and whenever it is used with reference to a place or thing, it may then be considered as meaning a spirit inhabiting that place, or presiding over that thing. It is on this account, that Shin, when belonging to a living person, always means the spirit of that person, and when used with reference to a dead person, it must mean the manes of that person, that we object so strongly to Shin, as the generic word for God. In translating several passages of Scripture, this would appear very glaring; and if Shin were employed for God in such passages, the sense would certainly not be comprehended by the Chinese. Thus in Genesis 46: 1. "Israel offered sacrifices unto the God of his father Isaac." If the word Shin were employed in this case, there is not a Chinese throughout the whole empire, knowing the sense usually put upon the terms in his own books, but would consider this passage as meaning, that Israel offered sacrifices to the manes of his father Isaac. There is no escaping this difficulty, and if Shin be employed, some note must certainly be appended here, to shew that the Shin to whom Israel offered sacrifices was the God who made and governed his father Isaac, and not the ghost or shade of a deceased parent, to which the Chinese from time immemorial, and throughout all the provinces of the empire, have been in the habit of offering sacrifices. Can that be a proper term then, to represent the Deity, which, if left in its naked form, must in certain cases be understood in the sense of the spirit of a dead man? If it will necessarily be taken in that sense, is there not some radical defect in the word, as indicating divinity, and have not those misunderstood its natural meaning, who wish to employ it as generic for God? Could we ever expect to bring the Chinese off from their superstitious worship of the dead, when we present them with a patriarchal example of sacrificing to the manes of a

deceased parent, which is mentioned with approbation, and held up for imitation? They would have only to refer to this Scriptural example, and the practice would go on to the end of time, unless it were prevented by other means. Even the context would not disabuse the Chinese reader's mind; for in the second and third verses he would read, that "God spake unto Israel in the visions of the night, and said, I am God, the God of thy father, &c." which, if God were represented by Shin, the Chinese would consider as explanatory of the term in the preceding verse, that Shin meant the manes of Israel's father. So also in Genesis 43 : 23. "Your God, and the God of your father, hath given you treasure in your sacks : " which passage, from the known propensity of the Chinese to ascribe the increase of wealth to the manes of parents, would be understood in that sense here. In the same way, Gen. 26 : 24. 31 : 5, 29, 42, 53. 32 : 9. 49 : 25. Exodus 3 : 6. 15 : 2. 18 : 4. 1 Chronicles 5 : 25. 12 : 17. 2 Chronicles 20 : 33. 33 : 12. Isaiah 38 : 5. Daniel 2 : 23. in all which cases, where the god of deceased persons was referred to, as the object of prayer, the ground of confidence, the source of help, the point of appeal, or the subject of praise and adoration, there can be little doubt, but the Chinese would understand the word God, if rendered by Shin, as referring to the manes of their progenitors, to whom this people are in the habit of presenting incense and offerings, on whose influence they depend, and to whom they look for health, prosperity, and every blessing. In fact, the Chinese in worshipping Shin, according to the Confucian system, never worship any other than the Shins of their ancestors, so that they would naturally and necessarily understand the word Shin, in connection with deceased progenitors, in this sense and in this only. So also in Matt. 22 : 32. "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob : God is not the God of the dead, but of the living." If Shin were employed as the word to render *Theos*, the Chinese would in the first place understand the Shin of the patriarchs to allude to their manes ; and then the expression, "the Shin of the dead," would very much resemble phrases current among themselves, signifying the manes of the dead. The "Shin of the living" would, on the other hand, be understood by them to mean the spirit of a living person ; and taking the whole together, they would perhaps imagine, that the patriarchs whose Shins were spoken of, were still alive in some way, because their spirits were said to be the Shins of the living, and not of the dead.

Thus it is, that when the term God is used as belonging

to a person, that the employment of Shin, would be most unsuitable. Because the Chinese would not understand by the Shin of any one, the God that rules over him, and protects him, i. e. the object of his worship, but the spirit or manes of the party referred to. Just as Wán-wáng's Shin does not mean his god, but his spirit : and as the Shins of ancestors and departed worthies always refer to their manes ; so when the God of Abraham, &c. is spoken of (Matt. 22: 32.) if Shin were employed, it would necessarily refer to the manes of Abraham. The Shin of our fathers, in Acts 5: 30. would in like manner be the manes of our fathers ; and the Shin of Jacob, Acts 7: 46. would be the manes of Jacob. With regard to a living person, his Shin means his spirit ; as in 神不附體 shin pūh foo t'he, his spirit was separated from his body ; by this phrase the Chinese mean that there was no longer any spirit in the man, that he was frightened

out of his wits. 留神於此 Lew shin yu tze, Morrison renders, "keep your mind on this." Such being the sense put upon Shin, when spoken of as belonging to a living man, there is every probability that the Chinese would not understand "my Shin, my Shin," in those passages, Ps. 22: 1. and Matt. 27: 46. as intimating that the God of the person speaking had forsaken him, but that his spirit had left him. It is remarkable that in Morrison's version, the same phraseology is employed in Luke 1: 47. to express "my spirit," viz. 吾

神 woo shin, my Shin, as is used in Matt. 27: 46. to express "my God." In the first instance Morrison has done right, but in the second he has rendered himself exceedingly liable to be misunderstood. So when David, in giving his dying advice to his son Solomon, says, "My God will be with thee;" this expression, if Shin were employed, would be understood by the Chinese in the sense of his manes after his departure. In Isaiah 7: 13. "will ye weary my God also?" the phraseology would, if Shin were employed, be precisely similar to a well-known Chinese expression, 勞神 lao Shin, which means wearying the spirit of the person alluded to. Likewise in the following passages, Ps. 20: 1. 75: 9. 76: 6. 84: 8. 94: 7. Micah 4: 2. where the God of Jacob is spoken of, the reference would, if Shin were employed, be undoubtedly understood to be to the spirit or manes of Jacob ; particularly where such Shin is spoken of as defending the persons using the phrase, or as being praised and worshipped by them. Further in Eph. 1: 17. "The God of our Lord Jesus Christ" would, if Shin were employed, be understood to refer to the manes or spirit of the person spoken of ; parti-

cularly as he was dead at the time when the expression was used, and blessings were sought for from him. It has been suggested by the advocates of Shin, that in the well-known phrase 帝之神 *Te che Shin*, the Shin of *Te*, occurring in the Chinese ritual, the word Shin must be understood in the sense of the "Divinity of *Te*;" according to this, then, the Shin of our Lord Jesus Christ must mean the Divinity of the Saviour; and the acts predicated of the same. viz. the giving to the Ephesians the spirit of wisdom and revelation, must be ascribed to an abstract quality; which would be as unsuitable here, as we have shewn the coming and going, the approving and disapproving of the Shin of *Te* would be, supposing his divinity were intended.

We might here add a few other passages of Scripture, in which, if God were rendered by Shin, it would appear as unsuitable to the Chinese, as would the word spirit in the same passages to an English reader. Thus Acts 17 : 24. "God that made the world and all things therein, seeing he is Lord of heaven and earth, &c. hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation;" and Heb. 3 : 4. "He that built all things is God." So in Psalm 47 : 7. 45 : 6. Matt. 23 : 22. 5 : 34. Dan. 6 : 26. Matt. 6 : 33. Job 37 : 22. where God is said to be a king, to have a throne, a sceptre, a kingdom, &c. Thus also in Gen. 1 : 27. and Eccl. 7 : 29. where God is said to have made man upright, and in his own image.

There are a few passages also, which speak of God in connection with spirit or spirits, where the employment of Shin would not convey the meaning of the sacred writers: thus John 4 : 24. "God is a spirit," would, if Shin were employed for God, and Ling or any other synonymous term for spirit, merely convey to the Chinese mind the idea that a spirit or spirits in general were spiritual beings; thus explaining Shin in the sense of spirits, as *Kang-he* does, but not pointing out the spiritual nature of the Divine Being. So in Num. 16 : 22. the sentence "the God of the spirits of all flesh," would, if Shin were employed, be understood as merely adding intensity to the word spirit, but not as intimating supremacy over them.

7. By understanding Shin in the sense of spirit, we are enabled to account for the fact of the Chinese never having employed the term when speaking of the originator, governor, and disposer of all things, which on the supposition that it means God is unaccountable. They have had occasion to speak frequently of a being who caused all things to come forth, who conferred on man the virtuous principle, and who

decides the fates of emperors and dynasties ; and yet they never call that being, with reference to those acts and attributes, Shin but Te. They say, that Te is a Shin, but they never say that Shin does these things. Other nations have employed, in such connections, the term which they used generically for God ; and we cannot account for the Chinese not having employed Shin in such a sense, but because they did not consider that Shin meant God, but spirit ; which meaning all their dictionaries and classical writers have put upon the term. The Chinese in this case are consistent ; for in no other language do men speak positively and directly of spirit doing the things above referred to. This fact also accounts for their not paying their highest adoration to Shin, in the public and solemn services, which are detailed in the imperial ritual. Te, and the deified progenitors of the royal house who are Tes, are honoured with the highest services, while those who are simply designated Shins, and worshipped as such, are treated with only secondary honours. This, if Shin mean God is strange ; but understanding it in the sense of spirit, the fact is easily accounted for. Assigning such a meaning to the term, we are enabled to see how it is, that the Chinese, whether in writing or speaking, never attach that idea of dignity and majesty to Shin, which they would do if it signified God : but as it means only spirit, we need not be surprised, if when speaking of mere Shins, they should not appear to be affected with any peculiar veneration and awe, more than we should at an invisible intelligence, who might be supposed to be before us. We can here see also how it is, that in all their philological works, which are arranged according to subjects, the class of Shins should never be ranked in the first place, but be always placed after Heaven, earth, and even man ; a classification easily accounted for, if we understand Shin in the sense of spirit, but not if we interpret it to mean God. It is singular, also, that both the Taoist and Buddhist writers, in works published by themselves, should never have given to their deities the designation of Shin. The View of the three Religions of China, gives a number of names of worshipped beings, among which the Shins, who are mere spirits and nothing higher, do not occur until nearly the end of the work, and then the name is attached only to a few who are viewed in an inferior capacity. We conceive therefore, that those have not rightly interpreted the word Shin, who in spite of the united testimony of Chinese authorities have insisted upon understanding it in the sense of God.

8. By understanding Shin in the sense of spirit, we may

account for certain predicates of a superhuman character, being ascribed to the Shins, though the more exalted attributes, which the Chinese consider peculiar to divinity, are not attached to those who are Shins alone. Thus, for instance, vast knowledge, even amounting in some instances to prescience; great power, which enables them to guide the winds and influence the rain; the ability to affect men's minds in a moral point of view; the capacity of being present in all substances; the being invisible and inaudible; the being abstruse, and yet manifest; the being supposed capable of answering supplications; the presiding over sun, moon, and stars, with hills and rivers, drought and inundation; the possessing moral qualities, such as sincerity and uprightness, according to which they exalt the humble and depress the proud: all these have been predicated of spirits in other countries, and such spirits have even been worshipped by different nations, without their being accounted by those who worship them as divinities. On the other hand, the works of creation and superintending Providence, are not in other countries ascribed to spirits, as in China they are not ascribed to the Shins; shewing that the word spirit corresponds more to Shin than divinity does. At the same time, no disparagement is cast on the word *Shin* by the Chinese, any more than on the term *spirit* by us. It is on this account, that Shin may properly be used for the Spirit of God by Christians. as 帝之神 *Te che shin*, is understood in the sense of the spirit of *Te* by the Chinese.

9. By understanding Shin in the sense of spirit and not God, we shall be able to account for the fact of all those Christian writers, who have adopted Shin in the sense of God, having been obliged either to abandon it, or to qualify it by some term, in order to make it convey to the Chinese the sense intended. Thus the Roman Catholics, who first adopted Shin for God in the translation of the Harmony of the Gospels and the Epistles, found in the British Museum, were soon compelled to give it up, and use T'hên or Shang-te. Subsequently, when they saw reasons for rejecting T'hên or Shang-te, they did not return to the use of Shin, but resorted to T'hên choo. In all the controversies, likewise, which took place between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, as to the proper term for expressing the Deity, the dispute between them was not, whether Shin or T'hên and Shang-te should be used; but whether T'hên and Shang-te or T'hên choo, should be employed. The word Shin never

came into discussion, nor did either party think for a moment of proposing it. We have looked through several volumes of the *Lettres Edifiantes*, and we have not been able to find a single allusion, from either party, to the propriety of using Shin in the sense of God. They appear, at the time alluded to, entirely to have discarded all idea of Shin's meaning God, and to have been perfectly satisfied that it meant spirit only. The various parties fought hard to see which of the two terms, 天 t'héen, or 天主 T'héen-choo, should be adopted; these terms appeared to the disputants, on either side, to convey the idea of Divinity; but were severally objected to by their antagonists; 天 t'héen, on the ground of its being likely to be mistaken for the visible heavens; and 天主 T'héen-choo, because it might possibly be confounded with various idols of that name; but had they conceived that Shin meant divinity, and was the generic name for God, as is now thought, there would have been no necessity for the parties contending any further; as another term, entirely distinct from either of those about which they were arguing, would have answered every purpose, and set the question entirely at rest. But they, neither of them ventured to propose Shin: certainly not because they were unacquainted with that term in all its bearings; (we only wish that our Protestant Missionaries of the present day were as well acquainted with Chinese literature, as were the early Romish Missionaries); but because they had already weighed it in the balance, and found it wanting. Neither were they guided in their rejection of Shin by a deference to the Papal bull; the term in question having been given up on philological grounds before that bull was issued; and that decretal not having been designed to decide the case of Shin, but whether T'héen-choo should be used in preference to T'héen or Shang-te. Still, without any order to that effect, the mere force of the argument drawn from the meaning of the word led the Romish Missionaries, in all ages, (with the exception of the period when they began their labours), to understand Shin in the sense of spirit, and that only.

In like manner, Morrison and Milne, who adopted Shin for God in their translation of the Scriptures, soon found that they could not depend on that term alone, to convey an adequate impression of the Deity, to the minds of the Chinese, in the prosecution of their labours; and therefore, they adopted in their preachings and tracts, some other term to render it more definite and intelligible, in the sense in which they intended it. For instance, they used 真神

chin shin, for the true God ; 真活神 chin hwō shin, for the true and living God ; 神主 shin choo, for the divine Lord ; (which term however, they came to dislike very much, on account of its being the same phrase with that employed for the parental tablet, worshipped by the Chinese), and 神天 Shin t'hēen, the spiritual heaven, as we have already seen. In the last work which he published, Milne used 上帝 Shang-te for God throughout, without any qualification or addition ; and in Morrison's latest Chinese work, published in 1831, called the Domestic Instructor, he has employed indiscriminately 神 Shin, 真神 chin shin, 神主 shin choo, 神天 shin t'hēen, 天 t'hēen ; • 神天上帝 Shin t'hēen Shang te, and 天帝 T'hēen te : 天皇 T'hēen hwang ; 天帝神主 T'hēen te shin choo ; 神天上帝 Shin t'hēen Shang te ; 神天大帝 Shin t'hēen ta te ; 天皇神主 T'hēen hwang shin choo ; 天皇上帝 T'hēen hwang Shang-te ; 上帝 Shang-te ; 天上上帝 T'hēen shang Shang-te ; 真神上帝 Chin shin Shang-te ; 天上之上帝 T'hēen shang che Shang-te ; 天皇神父 T'hēen hwang shing foo ; 上帝神天 Shang-te shin t'hēen. Now it must occur to any one, on reading over these various modes of expressing the Deity, that the compiler of the Domestic Instructor must have been very much dissatisfied with the term originally chosen by himself, or he would not have adopted so many others, as it were to add clearness to the idea. These other terms, let it be remembered (with the exception of 真神 chin shin,) not possessing the least affinity to the one first selected. In every other case, in which 神 Shin forms a part of the phrase, the Shin is the qualifying term ; while the others such as 主 choo, Lord, 天 t'hēen, heaven, and 父 foo, father, are the principal words depended on to express the idea of God. In all other cases, where 上帝 Shang-te, 天帝 T'hēen te, 天皇 T'hēen hwang, and 大帝 Ta te, have either been used alone or in combination, it will be evident to all those acquainted with the Chinese language, that these latter bear no affinity nor relation to the former, and would not be

* Morrison has in order to express the phrase "Jesus the Son of God," used 天子 T'hēen tsze, the Son of Heaven, which is a term solely appropriated to the Emperor of China.

conjoined with, nor used as explanatory of one another by the natives themselves. The inference to be drawn from the union of such heterogeneous terms therefore is, that Morrison, towards the close of his life, did not consider 神 Shin alone an adequate term to express the Deity, and that he was obliged, in order to insure his being understood, to employ a series of other terms totally distinct in their nature from the original word, either alone or in combination, to express the idea which he wished to convey. If it be urged, that the advocates of Te, have adopted indiscriminately 上帝 Shang-te, 帝 Te, and 天帝 T'héen te, we answer, that these terms are in the Chinese estimation nearly synonymous; that they are used interchangeably, and are interpreted in native books the one by the other, which can never be said of 神 Shin and 主 choo, or 神 Shin and 天 T'héen, or 神 Shin and 帝 Te. We do, not by adopting either of these terms occasionally, combine ideas that are essentially distinct, nor convey an entirely different idea, as those do who interchange the terms above commented on, or explain them the one by the other. Even 天主 T'héen choo would not differ so materially from 天帝 T'héen te, or 上帝 Shang-te, as to strike the Chinese mind with the incongruity of mixing them up together. We therefore conclude, that the same charge of inconsistency would not lie against the advocates of Te, for combining or interchanging the term with 天帝 T'héen te, or 上帝 Shang-te, as would lie against the advocates of Shin, for combining that term or interchanging it with 天 T'héen, 主 choo, or 帝 Te.

We may observe under this head, that the Roman Catholics have not only abandoned the use of the word Shin for God, but have, almost from the very first, been in the habit of using it in its legitimate sense of spirit and spiritual. Thus they use 天神 T'héen shin, and 神 Shin, alone for angel. In the chapter on the soul, in the 盛世彙纂 shing she tsow keaou, after alluding to inanimate objects, the life of plants, the animal soul of brutes, and the rational soul of man, the writer proceeds to notice the spiritual nature of angels, thus: “五目神 woo yuě shin, Fifthly we have angels; viz. the 九品 kew p'hin, nine orders of 天神 T'héen Shin, celestial spirits, whose substances consist of pure spirit, divested of matter and form; these are the immediate 臣 chin, ministers of the Lord of Heaven, who

enjoy true glory and unfading vigour, connected with intelligence and purity; therefore they are called 神 Shin, angels." Here it is evident, that the Christian writer understood Shin in the sense of spiritual beings merely, and not gods; giving to them the same designation which is assigned to the Shins in the Le-ke, and the essays of the modern Literati, viz. the 臣 chin, ministers of the Deity. Again he says, that "although the souls of men are essentially united with their bodies, they still participate of the nature of 神 Shin, spirits; the 天神 T'hên shin, angels only belong to the class of 純神 shun shin, pure spirits, but men possessing human souls can in some respects resemble 天神之 神 T'hên shin che shin, the spirituality of angels; thus the qualities of 神 Shin, spirit, and 物 wūh, matter unite in man." Nothing could be plainer than the fact that this Romish writer, (whose style in Chinese indicates a thorough acquaintance with the language,) used the word 神 Shin, in the sense of spirit. It is evident also that he had no misgivings in so using the term; and did not in the least apprehend that the Chinese would disapprove of the sense which he attached to it: indeed, supposing any of the Chinese Literati had checked him by saying, you degrade this term too much in applying it to the souls of men, or even to angels, seeing that it is peculiar to the Deity; he could have referred them to their own classical writers and best speakers, who would all have borne him out in attaching such a meaning to the word. In a similar way we find other Romish writers in Chinese, generally using 神 Shin for spirit, whether with reference to God, angels, or men. Thus they call the Divine Being, 靈妙純神 ling meao shun shin, an intelligent and pure spirit; they speak of angels and men, when contrasted with each other, as 神人 Shin jin, spirits and men: and say that God 肇造神人 cfaou saou shin jin, created both spiritual and human beings, as he is the 神人之主 Shin jin che choo, Lord both of spirits and men: they speak also of the 鬼神 Kwei Shins, as created beings, and subject to the Supreme; and talk of guardian angels as 護守之神 hoo show che shin, protecting spirits; they refer sometimes to the 靈魂之神體 ling hwân che shin t'he, spiritual nature of the soul, and contrast 世樂 she lö, worldly happiness with 神

樂 shin ló, spiritual enjoyment. They use **神品** shin p'hin, spiritual rank, for clerical orders; **神父** shin foo, spiritual father, for priest; **神光** shin kwang, for spiritual light; **神迷** shin me, for spiritual delusion; **神糧** shin leang, for spiritual food; **神藥** shin yô, for spiritual medicine; **神病** shin ping, for spiritual complaints; **神益** shin yih, for spiritual profit; **神命** shin ming, for spiritual life; **神力** shin leth, for spiritual strength; and **身神** shin shin, for body and soul. These terms occur in some of their best writers in Chinese, who undoubtedly possessed a very extensive and accurate acquaintance with native literature: so that they must have known the bearing of the expressions they employed, and the way in which they would be understood by the natives. The inference therefore is, that they used the terms in question in the right sense, or they were so dreadfully infatuated by their system, as to be reckless about what they did, and careless whether the Chinese understood them or not. But we have above shewn, that they are fully sustained by the Chinese classical writers and best speakers; and thus we must conclude, that they understood the language aright, and used the word Shin in its proper sense, when they employed it for spirit and spiritual beings.

But it may be said, we, as Protestants, differ on many material points from the Roman Catholics, and it is not likely that we should exactly agree in our use of theological terms. To which we reply, that there is no difference between them and us on the subject of the being and attributes of God, nor regarding the nature of spiritual intelligences: and there is no reason why we should dissent from them, in the use of terms on these subjects, unless we have cause on philological grounds so to do. Our converts may sometimes come into contact with theirs, and will no doubt discuss the points at issue between the adherents of the two forms of faith. Under such circumstances, our friends and followers will labour under a manifest disadvantage, if they use a term for expressing the Deity, which the other party employ in the sense of spirit, and which can be shewn from classical authority and native dictionaries to bear that meaning. The Protestant converts will, if Shin be employed, be speaking of Shin's having created heaven and earth; while the other party will represent the Shins as included among created beings. Our friends would say, that Shin was the Lord of all; while their opponents would shew them that mere Shins. are subject to

the dominion of the Supreme. The one party would be using 神父 Shin foo, for God the Father, while the other would say, such a term merely designated their common priests; and if they were reproached for blasphemy in thus applying the term Shin to human beings, they could shew that Shin was thus applied by the best Chinese writers, while 神父 Shin foo, never would convey to the Chinese mind the idea of God the Father. On the one hand the statement would be made, that there was but one Shin, and on the other the argument would be maintained, and with reason, that there were millions.* There are already differences enough between the adherents of the two creeds, but the use of Shin for God by the Protestant party would increase the differences a hundred-fold; and at the same time involve themselves in difficulty on philological grounds, from which there would be no escaping. The Roman Catholics would be able to confound the Protestant converts, before their Chinese neighbours, by pointing them out as worshippers of a mere spiritual intelligence, which when isolated even the Pagans do not regard as deserving of the highest adoration; and as using a term for the Deity, which is employed with as much propriety for the mind of a living man as it is for the spirit of the living God.

Should it be said, that the Roman Catholics are under obligation to obey the Papal bull, which is not binding on us Protestants; we would ask, did the Papal bull oblige them to understand Shin in the sense of spirit? and was not Shin

* A Roman Catholic, on coming into a Protestant place of worship, and seeing a copy of the Ten Commandments, headed by 我乃天主 爾神 Gno nae t'héen choo urh Shin, intended to express "I am the Lord thy God," would object against the statement, as meaning that 天主 t'héen choo, the Lord, was the 神 Shin, spirit of the party addressed: while the Protestant could not clear himself from the charge of having made a very improper statement, without denying, what we have proved to be one of the plainest canons of the Chinese language, that 神 Shin, when preceded by a possessive pronoun, signifies the spirit of the person to whom the Shin is said to belong. Supposing also an intelligent Chinese were to see hung up in a Protestant church, a translation of the so called Apostles creed, running thus: 我信惟有一神 gno sin wei yew yih Shin, "I believe there is but one Shin;" he would naturally be led to explain "These people must have a very strong faith, to believe that there is only one Shin, when according to the sense in which that word is understood throughout all China, from of old until the present day, every invisible intelligence both good and bad, and every human spirit both in this world and the next, is undoubtedly a Shin."

understood in the sense of spirit long before the Papal bull was issued? That document appeared in the year 1703: and in Kircher's *China Illustrata*, published in 1667, we have an abridgement of "the Divine Law," drawn up by Matthew Ricci, who died in 1610, which commences with the following sentence: "Should any ask, who is the Lord of Heaven? we answer, The Lord of Heaven is no other than he who produced Heaven, earth, (神 shin) spirits and men;" from this we see that the word Shin was used for created spirits, at least a century before the Papal bull was promulgated; its employment in this sense could not therefore have been in consequence of that bull. And supposing that Catholic writers generally employed Shin in the sense of spirit, out of deference to the orders of the Roman See, we know that the Syrian Christians, who entered China many centuries before them, owed no allegiance to the Pope of Rome. Or even if there might be some conformity of doctrine between the two churches, the Mahomedans were not in the slightest degree influenced by any regard to the opinions of any sect of Christians; and yet the Mahomedans called angels Shins, a thousand years ago. To this day, also, they have not the slightest idea that Shin means God; for on the question being put to several Mahomedans, at different times, whether they worshipped Shin? they have invariably replied, with horror and indignation, that they never had been guilty of such a crime. A Chinese inhabitant of Cashgar, who came to enquire about religion, on having the same question put to him, said, that he had long ago left off to worship the Shins, and did not wish to begin again.

We have thus seen that Shin means spirit, that as such it corresponds to the human mind and soul, that it is applied to the various invisible intelligences, who are supposed to have charge over different parts of the universe, and that, in the sense of a spiritual intelligence, the Supreme Being in the estimation of the Chinese is said to be a Shin. It is therefore no more adapted to represent our word God, than is the term spirit in any language; while the argument for employing the generic term for divinities does not apply here, inasmuch as Shin is not generic for gods but spirits. To use Shin for God, therefore, would be subversive of the genius and structure of the whole language, and render the books which were written for the religious instruction of the Chinese vague and unintelligible: while on the other hand, Te has been shewn, by numerous examples, to have moulded the frame of nature, and to have conferred the virtuous principle on mankind; it has been seen that Te is synonymous with Heaven, in the sense of the Divinity, and is at the same time

the Lord and Governor of Heaven. We have seen that Te acts according to his will, and disposes of monarchs at his pleasure ; while the highest act of worship is paid to Te : at the same time the word Te is frequently used in the plural, as referring to a variety of invisible beings, who are honoured with religious worship. Further, the divinities of the Taonists and Buddhists are frequently called Tes ; shewing that Te is used generically for God in the Chinese language. We conceive, therefore, that we are warranted by the Chinese lexicographers, and the *usus loquendi* of the classical writers, in proposing Te and not Shin to be used generically for God in the translation of the Sacred Scriptures.

Notwithstanding we conceive the above arguments in favour of Te as generic for God, to be sufficiently solid, yet as some continue to dissent from our views, and as we wish to do everything possible to secure unanimity among Protestant Missionaries, in regard to the term selected for God in the Chinese language, we are willing to suggest a cognate, but still more definite term ; and to recommend the use of 天帝 T'héen te generically for God, throughout the translation of the Scriptures, and other religious publications. The reasons on which we would base the adoption of 天帝 T'héen te, are the following :

In the 六書故 Lüsh-shoo-koo dictionary, we read, that " the character 帝 Te resembles the stem of a plant, which is written 蒂 te : according to which form the character designed to express 天帝 T'héen te, God, and 帝王 te wang, a (mere) human ruler, was formerly delineated."

In the 左傳 Tso-chuen history, detailing the affairs which happened during the 20th year of 昭 Chaou, the 帝 Te of the text, who is said to confer favours on those who serve him, is called by the commentator 天帝 T'héen te.

In the 左傳, vol. 4, page 26, Te is said to have granted to Wän-wang a prolongation of life ; which the commentator says, means 天帝 T'héen te.

In the 易 Yih-king, under the 豫 Yu, or Concord Diagram, the phrase 上帝 Shang-te, used for the Being who is honoured with the highest act of worship at the winter solstice, is by one of the commentators said to mean 天帝 T'héen te.

In the 書 Shoo-king, 5th book, 5th section, where the text says, that the merit of the sages influenced, 皇天 Hwang T'héen, Imperial Heaven, and 上帝 Shang-te ; one of the

commentators, remarking upon the employment of different terms to designate the same being, says, "that the merit of these sages reached to 天帝 T'hên te : which means that they promoted universal tranquillity, and that all the world harmonized with them. The mode of expression is different, but the being alluded to is the same."

In the works of Choo-foo-tsze, section 34, page 8, referring to Kaou-tsung's having dreamed, that 帝 Te gave him a virtuous assistant, the philosopher remarks, "According to this there really must be a 天帝 T'hên te, who thus addressed himself to Kaou-tsung: which men explain as referring to the Lord and Governor of Heaven."

In the Wân-wang section of the Book of Odes, speaking of Wân-wang's shining brightly in the realms above, in the presence of Te; a commentator says, "this shows that where 天帝 T'hên te is, there Wân-wang is also."

In the 儀禮 E-le, vol. 8, page 25, the upper and lower spirits, the spirits of the sun and moon, hills and rivers, are said to be of inferior rank to the 天帝 T'hên tes, or even the 人帝 Jin tes, who were sacrificed to.

In the Commentary on the Taou-tih-king, the 帝 Te who is prior to all things is called 天帝 T'hên te. According to the same sect, there are eight 天 t'hên, divinities in each of the four quarters, who are severally called 天帝 T'hên te.

In the 九家詩 Kew-kea-she, the 精 tsing, genius of the 太一 T'hae yih, Great Unity, is said to belong to the class of 天帝 T'hên tes. In the same work, the seat of the 天帝 T'hên tes is (spoken of as) synonymous with the region of the genii. *

In the 廣博物志 Kwang-pö-wüh-che, section 12, five venerable 天帝 T'hên tes are said to have announced to Shun, that the time of his departure was near. Laou-keun in the same section is called 太上天帝 T'hae shang T'hên te.

In the 13th section of the Imperial Essays, a man's spirit at death, is said to soar on high, and wait on the 天帝 T'hên tes.

* The abode of all the 天帝 T'hên tes, is in the same work, represented as synonymous with the region of the 真人 Chin jin, spiritual genii, or immortals.

In one of the Imperial odes, the God Sakya among the Buddhists, is called 天帝釋 T'héen te shih; while in the 成道記 Ching-taou-ke, the eye-brows of Buddha are said to be arched like the bow of 天帝 T'héen te, and his eyes round like the leaves of the lotus.

These quotations will be sufficient to shew, first, that the 天帝 T'héen tes, are distinct from the 帝王 Te wangs, human rulers; while the phrase T'héen te is synonymous with Te, in the sense of the Supreme, as far as the Chinese knew him: the being who is honoured with the highest act of worship, who bestows blessings, who grants a prolongation of life, who confers virtuous assistants on monarchs, who approves of the conduct of good men, and in whose presence departed worthies appear in the realms above, is with reference to the above acts, called by the name of T'héen te. This is sufficient to warrant us in applying to 天帝 T'héen te all that we find ascribed to Te in the classical writings, and proves that the one term, as well as the other, is the name of the Supreme in the estimation of the Chinese. Indeed it is usual with the Chinese literati, to explain Te, (if intended for the Supreme) by the phrase T'héen te. Secondly, from one of the passages above quoted, we learn that the upper and lower Shins, viz. the spirits who preside over the sun and moon, hills and rivers, are as a class, inferior to the class of 天帝 T'héen tes, or even to the 人帝 jin tes. By the latter term is doubtless meant the Tes of human origin, such as the five celebrated rulers of antiquity, and the various imperial ancestors of existing dynasties, who after death are like Yaou' and Shun all honoured as 人帝 Jin tes; by the T'héen tes previously mentioned are intended the Five Tes who are supposed to preside over the elements, seasons, colours and regions, and who are sometimes called the five Shang-tes. These constitute two distinct classes of Tes, who are both considered superior to the spirits presiding over the sun and moon, hills and rivers; if therefore the latter are viewed as a class, as they doubtless will be, the two former, with which they are compared, must be classes likewise; and thus we have a class of deities of celestial origin, and another of human origin, both superior to the mere spirits above spoken of. The distinction also which the Chinese make between the 天帝 T'héen tes and the 人帝 Jin tes, when they wish to notice particularly their different characteristics, will serve to assist us, when we wish to speak definitely of those deities which belong to heaven, to the

exclusion of those which are supposed to be of earthly origin. Thus we shall be enabled to designate the class of celestial deities, without the slightest danger of their being mistaken for mere deified mortals. Had the Chinese not been in the habit of exalting their departed progenitors and ancient sages to the rank of gods, the word *Te* alone, (as defined in the Imperial Dictionary to be one of the names of Heaven or the Divinity, and the names of various spiritual beings the objects of religious worship), would have been sufficiently distinct ; but seeing that they have adopted this practice, and some might be led to confound these latter with the deified emperors and sages, the use of the compound phrase **天帝** *T'héen te*, (which is also said to be synonymous with **帝** *Te*, in the sense of the Supreme and inferior divinities) will remove every obscurity, and make the term definite and unmistakable. No Chinese would ever think of confounding the **天帝** *T'héen tes* with their deified emperors, and every one would undoubtedly understand it in the sense of deities, who were originally such, and not those who have been raised to that honour by an apotheosis. Should we in conformity with the Chinese example adopt this term, (a term which is sanctioned by their classical commentators, and forms part of their language) we should obviate entirely all those objections brought by the opponents of *Te*, that it is equally applicable to earthly as well as heavenly beings, because *T'héen-te* must be taken as referring to the latter and not the former.

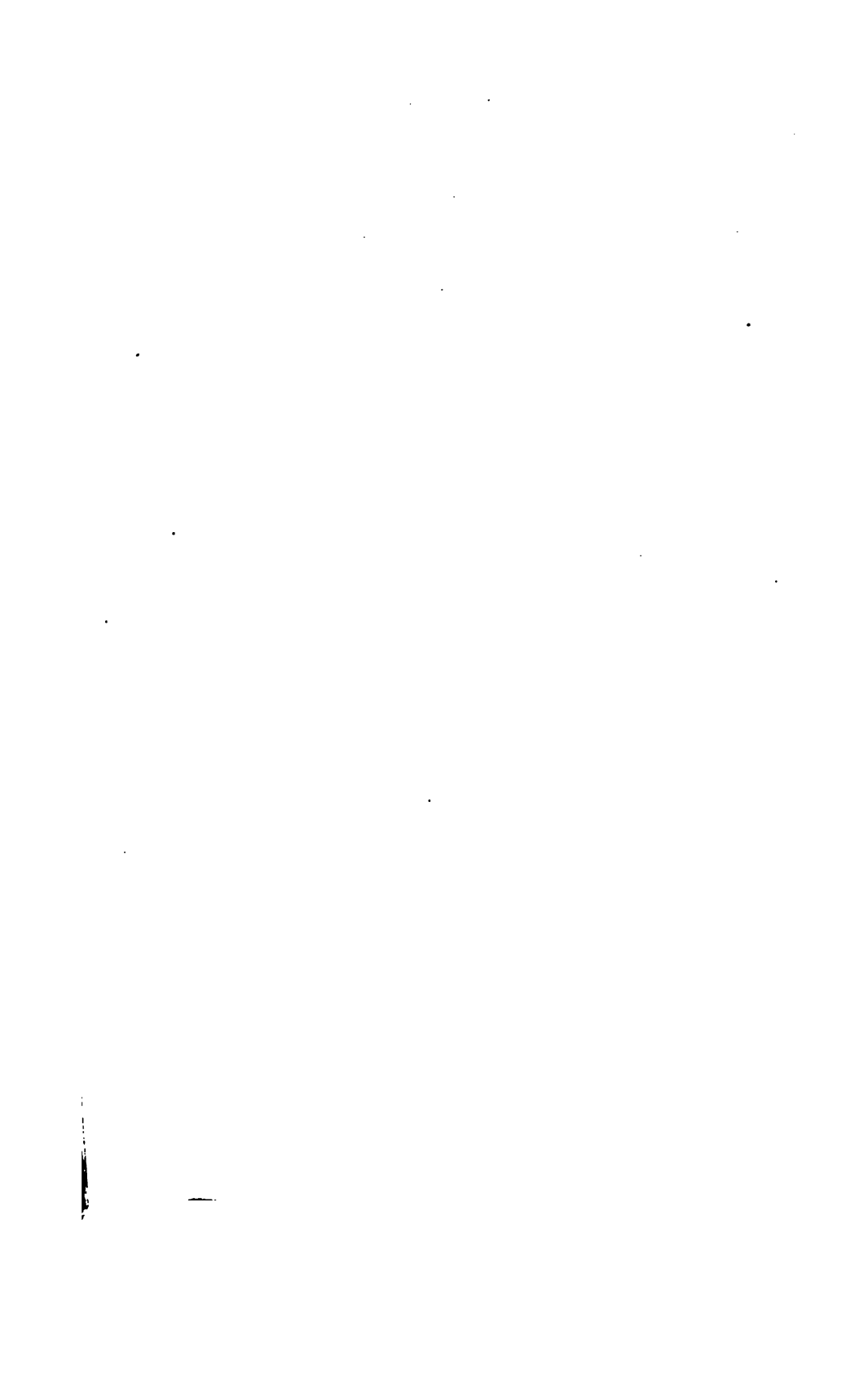
The passages quoted from the Taouist works shew, not only that **天帝** *T'héen te* is used by them in the sense of the Supreme God, but that it is a generic term for a class of beings, who are treated by them with divine honours, from the gods of the 32 heavens, who are called **天帝** *T'héen tes*, with *Laou keun*, who was called **太上天帝** *T'hae shang t'héen te*, down to those inferior **天帝** *T'héen tes* who rank with the genii and immortals : thus shewing that the term is not a title of honour, but an appellative for the crowd of gods worshipped by that sect.

The Buddhists not only call the founder of their sect *Sakya*, **天帝釋** *T'héen te Shih*, but speak also of the rainbow as belonging to the one **天帝** *T'héen te*, who manages heaven ; shewing that they considered *T'héen-te* as generic, in conformity with the practice of the other sects.

In common conversation the Chinese never mistake the phrase **天帝** *T'héen te*, as applicable to the Supreme God, and to gods generally.

taken alone, are used by the Chinese for God; and taken together they constitute a phrase, in common use among themselves, to designate both the Supreme and subordinate Deities; in neither of which cases did the term **天主** t'hēen choo, come up to it. Thus T'hēen te can be used generically for God, and is capable of being applied when speaking of the three persons in the Sacred Trinity: a version of the Scriptures into a cognate language patronized by the Bible Society, and approved by one of the best oriental scholars ever known, has employed a term of similar import, in precisely the same way in which we propose to employ this, and no Chinese would by any possibility misunderstand the term if so employed.

By using the term **天帝** T'hēen te, instead of **天主** T'hēen choo, we shall secure another advantage, besides the benefit derived from its being preferable on philological grounds, namely this, that Protestants will not be confounded with the adherents of the church of Rome. It is well known, that the doctrines preached by the latter have long been recognized as the **天主教** t'hēen choo keaou, the Lord of Heaven's religion: and did Protestants employ exactly the same term for the Deity which the Roman Catholics have done, there would be some danger of the Chinese confounding the two sects, which would be as much deprecated by the one as the other. It is true, we should not be likely to give any title to our religion derived from the name of God, but one deduced from that of the Saviour: yet we could not prevent the Chinese from giving to us and our doctrines what name they pleased. And as the term chosen for designating the Deity would occur as frequently as that for pointing out the founder of our faith; the Chinese would be most likely to take up with the former rather than the latter: if **天主** T'hēen choo therefore were employed by us, as well as by the Roman Catholics, we should be classed together. By employing **天帝** T'hēen te, however, all danger of confusion would be avoided, and the different forms of faith would stand forth sufficiently distinct.





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